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NEW OBSERVATIONS

ON

ITALY

AND ITS INHABITANTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

NEW OBSERVATIONS

ON

ITALY

AND ITS INHABITANTS.

WRITTEN IN FRENCH

BY TWO SWEDISH GENTLEMEN.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY THOMAS NUGENT, L. L. D.

AND FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY

OF ANTIQUARIES.

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MDCCLXIX.

NEW OBSERVATIONS

ITALY

TO

EDWIN FRANCIS STANHOPE, Esq;

THESE

OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY

AND ITS INHABITANTS,

As a Testimony of Esteem for his public and private Virtues,

As a Monument of sincere Friendship,

And as a Tribute of Acknowledgement for many Favours,

Are most respectfully inscribed

By his most humble and

Obedient Servant,

THOMAS NUGENT.

PREFACE

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

IT has been obſerved by a late celebrated writer *, that it is impoſſible to be tired of ſo agreeable a ſubject as ancient Rome; and that ſtrangers frequently neglect the modern palaces of that renowned capital, to run in ſearch of its ruins. The ſame remark may juſtly be extended to Italy in general, which ſince the reſtoration of learning has been the grand object of travellers, eſpecially ſuch as are deſirous of treading on claſſic ground, and viewing with their own eyes thoſe ſcenes, upon which their imaginations have dwelt with pleaſure, from their earlieſt years, in the writings of the Roman poets. Hence the deſcriptions of that delightful country have been multiplied to ſuch a degree, that the very titles of the many books, to the publication of which it has given occaſion, would be ſufficient to fill a volume. It is not our intention to depreciate the merit of thoſe writings; moſt of them contain

* The preſident Monteſquieu.

contain a variety of curious and uſeful knowledge, and deſerve our eſteem, in proportion to the abilities of the writers, and the main object or view of their ſeveral publications.

Among theſe compoſitions none ſeem to be intitled to a greater ſhare of the public favour, than the following Obſervations on Italy and its Inhabitants. They were publiſhed in France as the work of two Swediſh gentlemen; but at preſent it is well known, they are the production of the very learned and ingenious M. Groſley. This gentleman is ſuppoſed to have aſſumed the the abovementioned title, with a view of prejudicing the public in favour of his performance. For in France it is a received and perhaps a juſt opinion, that foreign travellers are generally more attentive, more patient and leſs ſuperficial than the French, and withal more judicious and impartial in their obſervations. Another reaſon aſſigned for his putting on this diſguiſe, is the liberty he takes with his countrymen, in acquainting them with ſeveral diſagreeable truths concerning their national foibles, which perhaps they would more eaſily excuſe from the pen of a foreigner, than from that of a Frenchman. To which we may add, that as he is pretty free in expoſing the abuſes

of

of his own religion, he might have been apprehenſive of rendering himſelf obnoxious to the implacable malice of bigots and enthuſiaſts.

But ſince he has ventured to pull off the maſk, the public, which from the very beginning applauded his performance, has paid him the tribute due to his perſonal merit. France has rung with his praiſes, and theſe have been echoed by the foreign journals in different parts of Europe *. Thoſe who have moſt nicely examined into his excellencies, repreſent him as the philoſophical traveller, who directs all his remarks, all his reſearches, to his own, or to his country's improvement: *Omnis exempli documenta intuetur, indeque ſibi, ſuæque patriæ quod imitetur capit* †.

The preſent work is particularly diſtinguiſhed from the relations of all other travellers by its profound reſearches on hiſtory, geography, antiquities, and the polite arts. In vain would it be to look for ſo much uſeful and intereſting matter in the accounts of the generality of writers. Some perhaps may give a more ample detail of the ſituation of towns, others of the grandeur of palaces, and others

* See Bibliotheque des Sciences, tom. 24. p. 2. p. 388. and tom. 26. p. 1, 105.

† Livy.

of

of the ſumptuouſneſs and beauty of churches, of the variety and elegance of paintings, the number of inſcriptions, and the antiquity of monuments. Our author enters upon a nobler and more comprehenſive plan; he inveſtigates the character, the manners, the cuſtoms, and the private life of the inhabitants of that much admired country. He gives us an idea of the revolutions, which have happened in the government of the different ſtates of Italy; and of the changes, which thoſe revolutions have produced in their policy and manners; from whence he takes an opportunity of drawing compariſons and reflexions applicable to other nations. The public adminiſtration, the ſtate of religion, polite literature, commerce and the fine arts, are ſubjects which never fail to engage his attention; and his obſervations on thoſe intereſting topics, are conſtantly interſperſed and enlivened with curious and amuſing anecdotes. To conclude, his abilities as a painter of men and manners, *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes*, are ſo conſpicuous, that he may well be allowed to exclaim with Correggio or the great Monteſquieu, *ed io anche ſon pittore*, and I am a painter alſo.

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OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY.

AFTER ſpending three years at Paris in all the pleaſures and amuſements which ſtrangers find in that capital, we ſet out for Italy in the month of June, 1758

The choice of this year proved very fortunate for us. The ſummer heats were moderate, the autumn very fine, and the winter in Italy as mild as a favourable ſpring in France. As fortune never does any thing by halves for thoſe to whom it is propitious, we had not a ſingle drop of rain throughout the journey, though in ſettling the times of ſtaying in a place we never conſidered fair or foul weather.

Beſides letters of recommendation, which we brought from Sweden, ſeveral perſons of the firſt

rank favoured us with theirs: to theſe letters, indeed, we owe the chief pleaſures of our journey, and the more ſucceſsful purſuit of our ſtudies, by opening to us the palaces of the great, and bringing us acquainted with the principal bankers, as likewiſe with the moſt ingenious artiſts and manufacturers.

This aſſiſtance was the more eſſential to us, as, in our long ſtay at Paris, we had contracted a caſt of the French air; that is the very worſt air a man can carry into Italy: not that the Italians retain any keen reſentment of the former hoſtilities between the two nations; but they dread the French vivacity: this is too oppoſite to their phlegmatic diſpoſition; and that freedom of behaviour, which a Frenchman daily gives into more and more, little agrees with their preciſe exactneſs in every point of decorum. In a word, Italy is infeſted with French adventurers, who ſubſiſt, and ſometimes even make a figure, at the expence of thoſe whom they draw in to be their dupes: ſo that to a Frenchman, or any one appearing to be ſuch, Italy is like an enemy's country, all the avenues to which are locked up, and the ſeveral poſts ſtrictly guarded. The firſt care ſhould be to make it plainly appear that you are not an adventurer; then let it be ſeen that a lively deportment does not always exclude ſolidity of judgment; after all, with the very beſt recommendations, you muſt ſtand an enquiry of ſome length, but conducted on the ſide of the Italians with as much politeneſs

as

as reserve: if favourable, the fruit of it is friendship, and a friendship founded on that very same vivacity, which they delight in, when they are convinced they have nothing to apprehend from that quarter; a friendship which in its increase glows with as much warmth, as in its commencement it seemed to freeze with reserve and indifference. Thus far is meant to justify the Italians, and to prepare the French for a scene quite different from their manners, and far from agreeable; but without which they would only gaze on the Italians, in the same manner as they view their paintings and statues.

Leaving Paris the twentieth of May, we went to Lyons by the way of Troyes and Dijon, and from Lyons to Turin through Geneva, Savoy, and over mount Cenis, making such a stay at the places on the road as their consequence deserves. We returned to Paris by the way of Bourdeaux; so that our journey takes in a part of France, on which however we shall not publish our remarks, unless it should be at the desire of those very respectable personages to whom we could not refuse the following observations.

France is separated from Italy by a chain of mountains, disposed, as it were, to intercept all communication between the two finest countries in Europe.

Amidst the horror of these precipices, Nature offers to the philosopher the most interesting object, and for a skilful eye the most inviting;

to a painter the moſt romantic landſcapes, and huge maſſes of rocks ſtrangely contraſted; to the mere traveller proſpects varying every ſtep; terraſſes, from whence the eye, at one glance, beholds the four ſeaſons of the year; caſcades beyond any thing which imagination can form; every wonder, in ſhort, that art has in vain laboured to introduce into the gardens of ſovereigns. Thoſe, however, who are born and brought up in level countries, find themſelves unable to repel that impreſſion of melancholy, which the drearineſs of this grand ſpectacle leaves on their minds. They cannot conceive, that creatures of their ſpecies can ſupport life in ſo barren and ſo mis-ſhapen a country. The naturaliſt may tell them, with effuſions of admiration, this country is Nature's laboratory; and would you, anſwer they, ſpend your whole life in a laboratory?

The ſovereign of this dreary country is the duke of Savoy, whoſe dominions Virgil ſeems to have had in his eye, when he deſcribed thoſe of Æolus. With regard to the nature of its ſoil, Nantua may be looked on as the chief place.

NANTUA.

This little town, which furniſhes all Savoy with ſhoes, as the greateſt part of its inhabitants indeed are ſhoemakers, has grown up cloſe by the walls and under the protection of the abbey of Nantua, founded, during the firſt race of the kings of France, by St. Amand, to whom the celebrated abbey

abbey in Flanders of that name likewiſe owes its foundation. Theſe two abbeys have the ſame claim to his relics as the abbey of mount Caſſin in Italy, and that of St. Benoît-ſur-loire in France have to the relics of the patriarch of the Benedictines. The abbey of Nantua, originally very rich, has loſt the greater part of its lay-lands. The neighbouring nobility have, in times of confuſion, uſurped ſome under ſpecious pretences; and ſome they have ſeized by open force: it has even ſuffered ſieges from the lords of Thoire and Villars. Another part the counts of Savoy have laid their hands on, under colour of guardianſhip and protection. By theſe loſſes the abbey of Nantua, no longer able to ſupport the title, is reduced to a priory, dependent on Cluni.

Its buildings are ſhapeleſs remains of Gothic rudeneſs; the houſe, which conſiſts only of a ſub-prior, two monks, and ſome novices, all in a lay habit, has eſcaped the reform. I enquired of the ſub-prior, whether the body or any monuments of Charles the bald, who died in croſſing mount Cenis, and was buried at Nantua, were extant; but my enquiries of him, and my diligent ſearch in the church, proved equally fruitleſs.

This monaſtery, and the town which depends on it, ſtand in an impervious valley, formed by lofty mountains: it is open towards the north, and almoſt entirely ſurrounded by a beautiful lake, which abounds with fiſh, and receives a ſmall river. This river runs through the town and the

court-yards of the monaſtery. Within a little way of the town you come to a very ſteep brow of a hill, which, after interſecting the road, projects over the head of the lake. On this brow ſtands a mill, plentifully ſupplied with water, ſpringing from the eaſtern part of the mountains. It diſcharges itſelf into a defile, which precipitates the ſuperfluous ſtream down the ſteep of that mountain, the body of which croſſes the road. Theſe waters, in their fall, form a caſcade, between twenty and thirty feet high, in a girandole perfectly circular. The waters happened to be playing when we came to Nantua: their poſition, the rocks at the bottom, the lake and the mountains which incloſe it, together with the oblique rays of the ſun illuſtrating the whole ſcene, exhibited a ſpectacle which we could not ſufficiently admire.

The houſes at Nantua are of wood, with very flat roofs, projecting a great way over the ſtreet, and every ſtory beyond the other. This conſtruction, however ridiculed by thoſe who do not conſider that towns are to be made for the convenience of the inhabitants, is here quite proper and neceſſary on account of the ſnows, with which Nantua is covered for ſome part of the year: the north wind drives them in heaps on the houſes, and great quantities are alſo precipitated from the mountain; and theſe, by the almoſt horizontal inclination and the projecture of the roofs, are carried into the middle of the ſtreet; ſo that the

the entrance and communication of the houſes are never obſtructed.

This country has only a nominal relation to the Nantuates, a people of Swiſſerland, mentioned by Cæſar and Pliny. The country of thoſe antient Nantuates was Le Valais and Le Chablais.

In Savoy, Swiſſerland, and all over the Alps, are ſeveral lakes, greater or leſs than that of Nantua. The moſt general poſition of theſe lakes ſhews them to have been formed after the deluge by the waters that fell down from the mountains, as it is at the feet of ſuch eminences that all theſe reſervoirs are found. Towards the end of the univerſal inundation they were of the ſame nature as the baſons in a river, which receive the waters iſſuing from the depths and floodgates: the water, in ſcooping theſe baſons, partly incloſed them, by the ſeveral ſubſtances thus detached from the bottom, and gathering into a continued heap like a bar or bank.

Between Nantua and Geneva, at the foot of mount Credo, is another natural wonder. The Rhone, after paſſing by fort L'Ecluſe, and under Greſin bridge, ingulphs itſelf within rocks, through which it has, as it were, filed a paſſage; here it loſes itſelf under ground, and at the diſtance of a hundred paces riſes again. Before it is thus ingulphed, it receives a river, of which I could not learn the name; but it is croſſed at Belle Garde bridge, and its waters, like that of the Rhone, are of a dark blue, with a ſcum. This has likewiſe eaten itſelf a paſ-

ſage, but very narrow, through rocks, on the correſpondent ſurfaces of which are perfect figures of water-budgets, or large pottage pots, the rotundity of one anſwering to the interval of two oppoſites: nothing can be more diſagreeable than the noiſe of the confined waters, claſhing among theſe pots; it is indeed the *ferri ſtridor*, or the grating of a file on a ſaw.

Before theſe rocks became thus excavated, or the Rhone had made its way into the abyſs, where it is abſorbed, its waters, being ſupported by the ground under which it now runs, may be concluded to have formed a lake between theſe mountains of France, which are commanded by fort L'Ecluſe, and thoſe of Savoy; thoſe huge maſſes being in ſuch a correſpondent diſpoſition, as to form a baſon for receiving the waters to whatever height they had riſen.

We had more leiſure to take a view of this country than we deſired; in our aſcent up mount Credo which was by means of two yokes of oxen, one of the braces of our chaiſe broke on the ſide of the precipice, along which the road lies, and the remaining half days journey we accompliſhed on foot.

We reached Geneva on the 12th of June: at a ſmall diſtance from it we ſaw the gate of a moſt beautiful garden open, when out came a very handſome chaiſe, and, to our great ſurpriſe, two jeſuits in it. We were afterwards informed that this ſame garden is M. Voltaire's ſo celebrated

Delices;

Delices; that the jeſuits have on the laſt line, which ſeparates the country of Gex from Geneva, a houſe or receptacle; and that theſe fathers live very ſociably with that gentleman. Theſe explanations removed our wonder at ſuch an appearance within the cannon of Geneva: but we were farther given to underſtand, that many a jeſuit had been ſeen at Geneva; father la Chaiſe, having availed himſelf of the ſubmiſſion of the republic to Lewis XIVth's demands that jeſuits might live there, and appear in public, as chaplains to the French preſident.

GENEVA.

This city is remarkable for its ſituation, independency, religion, and commerce: formerly it ſtood only on that hill, which is the key of lake Leman, at the part where the Rhone iſſues out of that lake; and this river was one of its chief defences: it has gradually, like all ancient towns built on mountains, ſunk down into the level, ſo that now the efflux of the Rhone is within its circuit. In its primitive ſituation it enjoyed a very healthy air, with a view of the whole lake which it commanded, and at the ſame time all the advantages ariſing from this lake, either for the neceſſaries of life, or the convenience of trade; whereas, by removing into the level, it has loſt the defence of the Rhone, has plunged itſelf amidſt the continual fogs and vapours of the lake; and as for the boaſted

walks

walks of *Treille* and *Rain-palais*, they are by no means equal to that of the *plat-form*.

Its fortifications, though ſufficient againſt a ſudden aſſault, would not ſtand a formal ſiege. I was greatly ſurpriſed at finding a Swiſs garriſon here, having always imagined that Geneva had guarded itſelf. At the corps de garde of the gates, are only ſome of the republic's ſervants, whoſe buſineſs is to examine the paſſports of ſtrangers; but I much queſtion whether, in caſe of an attack, they would be of any great ſervice either for action or advice.

St. Peter's church was the cathedral of Geneva, till the revolution in 1535. It is in the taſte of the French cathedrals, of the 14th and 15th centuries, with a new portal, deſigned by a Genevan, who has united ſimplicity, majeſty, and grandeur. It is a portico of the doric order, ſupported by columns of a very exact proportion. The conſiſtory's ſcrupulous regard to the firſt commandment of the decalogue, would not allow the architect the leaſt decoration for the tympan of the pediment, with which this portico is crowned. It is the like religious averſion for graven images, which keeps the fine tomb of the famous duke de Rohan ſo cloſely confined under lock and key; yet the organ, which at length has been admitted, intimates a relaxneſs, which bids fair to ſet his grace at liberty. In that part of the church, which was the chancel, is ſtill ſeen the biſhop's throne, crowded with ſculptures and baſſo relievo's,

of

of the 15th century, but extremely disfigured and mutilated by the adz and hatchet. They might with little difficulty have been totally planed away; perhaps they are left to ſtand as monuments of the zeal of the former Genevans.

This zeal, though with ſome abatement, ſtill prevails at Geneva, at leaſt in the conſiſtory; and of this the reſult is a religion, (*a*) not ſo much adapted to common people, as to philoſophers, diſpoſed to embrace it by choice. This religion may, in many reſpects, be compared with the Sabine inſtitutes, in which King Numa had been educated, by Livy termed *diſciplinam triſtem et tetricam Sabinorum.*

Not that Calvin's doctrine is maintained at Geneva in all its rigour. It has been much ſoftened by Arminianiſm, and, as far as I can learn, the charge in the Encyclopedia, on more important and more capital articles, is not without grounds. To me the French divines ſeem to have declined taking all the advantage which this charge played into their hands. Inſtead of joining in the invectives of the conſiſtory of Geneva, againſt Mr. D'Alembert, as a ſlanderer, they ſhould have turned over their ancient controverſiſts, where, in every page, they would have ſeen that Calviniſm would ſome time or other lead its followers to Deiſm, and thus have bleſſed the Lord for the accompliſhment of that prediction.

(*a*) M. Paſcal ſays, that a religion wholly intellectual is not made for the people.

I do

I do not take upon me to ſay that the conſiſtory of Geneva have eſpouſed ſocinianiſm unanimouſly and openly: ſome of the old miniſters ſtick to the ancient forms, but theſe old miniſters are no longer in vogue, not even among the commonalty, and when they preach, they may almoſt be ſaid to preach to the walls. Private inſtruction allows certain latitudes, with regard to revelation, original ſin, the puniſhments and rewards of a future life, which public inſtruction neither oppoſes nor overthrows.

Geneva, however, is not without very conſiderable means for the education of youth: the public library has made good uſe of Miſſon's hints for its improvement; it is greatly increaſed, and, by the care of M. Jallabert, who had the direction of it many years, it is enriched with a muſeum of antiquities and natural hiſtory. When we were at Geneva, a gentleman of the name of Lullin had juſt ſucceeded M. Jallabert in that capacity, on his promotion to be a counſellor of ſtate.

The college is in a very flouriſhing condition, and not ſo much by pecuniary aſſiſtances from the ſtate, as by the zeal of the profeſſors, who are attached to this college from father to ſon, and whoſe next ſtep is generally into the council of the republic; beſides being themſelves fathers of families, their own hearts tell them the meaſure, both of the indulgence which education allows, and of the ſtrictneſs which it requires. Emulation is excited

here

here by prizes, which the ſtate itſelf diſtributes with great ſolemnity, after very rigid examinations, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of partiality. Theſe prizes are ſilver medals, and when a youth has obtained one, all his relations make him a preſent of thoſe which they got in the ſame claſs; theſe preſents make his cabinet of medals, which is as a pledge to his family of his application, and the continuance of his ſucceſſes. The firſt prize is for writing, which I never ſaw any where but here; the worſt compoſed theme, if its writing be the beſt, carries the firſt prize.

Geneva received part of its political laws from Calvin: miſtruſting the ſpirit of domineering, in the very clergy ſo recently formed by himſelf, he has directed that the conſiſtory is not to take any reſolution, even in a caſe purely eccleſiaſtic, but jointly with a certain number of magiſtrates, and that its aſſemblies and deliberations ſhall be held in a place open to all the world.

Sumptuary laws are obſerved, with all the ſtrictneſs neceſſary in a ſmall ſtate, ſubſiſting only by the induſtry of its inhabitants. I have been ſurprized that theſe laws ſhould have allowed the ſumptuous edifices, lately built by private perſons along the *Treille* walk: they utterly diſſolve the ſpirit of equality, which ſhould be the leading object of ſumptuary laws.

They to whom the care of the public morality is committed, are likewiſe relaxed from their primitive rigour. By the former laws, he who refuſed

fuſed marrying a girl of whom he had obtained the gratification of his deſires, was to ſuffer death. This at preſent is abated to a ſtrict proceſs, which is carried on by the concurrence of both powers, and the upſhot is a ſum of money, proportioned to the ſeducer's wealth and the condition of the girl. During our ſtay at Geneva, ſuch a ſuit was commenced againſt a very pretty young fellow of the canton of Zurich, who had deluded a Genevan girl. Whether it was from the fear of incurring the diſpleaſure of his family, which was very wealthy, whereas the girl had little or nothing, or whether it was in conſequence of a freſh amour; he failed in his promiſe to her; on which the girl applied for juſtice, and he was impriſoned. We often ſaw him at the grates with his hair dreſt, and in all the glitter of a beau. A few days ago he was confronted with his adverſary, who, falling at his feet, poured forth her lamentations and complaints in the moſt pathetic manner. This ſcene laſted ſome time, and was ſo affecting, that the youth fell into a ſwoon; and the very judges, among whom were ſeveral aged miniſters, could not refrain from tears. It was hoped that this would revive the faithleſs lover's tenderneſs; the principal heads of the conſiſtory indeed made it their buſineſs, but whether they ſucceeded we know not.

This conſiſtory not only preaches, but ſummons thoſe who are wanting in the duties of religion, and a ſmart reprimand they undergo; theſe reprimands are ſometimes given by deputies, as when a regard

gard is due to the ſtation of the perſons who are the objects of it.

I was amazed to hear that the notion of witches ſtood its ground in Geneva ſince the ſettlement of the reformation there; and that even, about the middle of the laſt century, an old woman had been ſolemnly burnt on a charge of ſorcery. Certainly ſome body of men found it their intereſt to reſerve this prejudice for their occaſional uſe, ſince it could ſurvive ſo many other prejudices, to which, though more entitled to regard than that abſurdity, the Geneva reformers had given no quarter.

It would unqueſtionably be a miſtake to imagine that, amidſt continual preachments, under the eyes of ſo watchful a conſiſtory, and with laws in which no duty is overlooked, the people of Geneva anſwer its anagram mentioned by Miſſon (*reſpublica Genevenſis, gens ſub cœlis vere pia*). No where is the thirſt of gain more predominant: and hence that attachment to work, that induſtry, that ſobriety, that ſuppleneſs and acuteneſs, for which the Genevans are ſo remarkable. If Plato was right in denying that probity is to be found in a city of ſhops and warehouſes, at leaſt Geneva is not the place to ſeek for it. I will even venture to ſay, that the religion of Geneva is too ſublime, too metaphyſical, and too much diveſted of every ſenſible object, to influence the manners of a people; for which the mind muſt be affected, and the heart engaged. It has more of the ſchool of the Portico or Lyceum, than of any kind of worſhip.

ſhip. It was for want of ſenſitive objects in their religion, that the Iſraelites ſet up the golden calf at the foot of mount Horeb, and this being nearly the caſe with the Genevans, they have ſet up intereſt for their golden calf. As to the Genevan ſages ſaying that their religion is pure chriſtianity, the chriſtianity of the primitive church, *ſacro-ſancta Chriſti religio in ſuam puritatem repoſita*, as it ſtands on the front of the town houſe; they cannot but know that the chriſtianity of the primitive church was the religion not of a people caſually born in it, but of ſublime, elect, and ſanctified ſouls, *electi*, *vocati*, *ſancti*, who embraced it from choice, who, on their initiation into it, ſacrificed all the deſires of fleſh and blood, and whoſe moſt delightful hope was martyrdom.

The Geneva converſation, in general, has more of the German than the French; among the men it is carried on in clubs, who hire a chamber where they reſort in the evenings to ſmoak, talk politics, and chat about private concerns, and the news of the town. The women have their meetings on ſundays, with amuſements in their way; and, for more particular parties, here are little villa's in abundance, and very much frequented.

The Italian reſervedneſs and the German phlegm prevail in the converſation of the Genevans, both among themſelves and with foreigners; if ſome few have any tincture of French manners, it is by imitating the politeneſs of the inhabitants of Dauphiné.

We

We muſt not omit obſerving here, that Geneva has partly realized Dr. Swift's project, in his *Great Myſtery, or art of meditating in a houſe of office.* On that part of the lake which faces the upper town, very large eaſements have been lately built, divided into ſeats, with ſlight partitions on each ſide, moſt about *elbow high*, as the doctor directs, *for the conveniency of converſation.* I went there one morning, and taking my ſeat in the center, ſhared in a very ſprightly converſation, among ſeveral women, ſome of whom were buſy, and others waiting their turn.

Trade at Geneva, inſtead of waiting at home for cuſtomers, travels in queſt of them, and, wherever it can be promoted, the Genevans never fail to repair.

Its principal branches are clocks and watches, jewelry, muſlins, and the finer ſort of linens.

A great part of the clock and watch pieces are made among the mountains of Swiſſerland; this being the occupation of the inhabitants during the ſnowy ſeaſon. Moſt of them have at Geneva ſet watch-makers, who purchaſe theſe pieces of them half wrought, and work them up into watches; which, with indefatigable induſtry, they diſpoſe of over Germany, France, and Spain. They likewiſe export great numbers to the houſes which ſeveral of theſe Geneva dealers have at Paris, or to watchmakers of that city, who get their name put on them, and then ſell them for their own work.

London was formerly as good a cuſtomer to Geneva as Paris itſelf; but the Engliſh having extended this manufacture among themſelves and their dependencies, at preſent do without the

Genevans; or if they take any of their goods, it muſt be at their own price. This proceeding has ſo far cooled the mighty fondneſs of the Genevans for them, that they now openly declare the Engliſh to be a parcel of mere Jews, who would have others take every thing from them, without their taking the leaſt thing from others. From England it is, however, that they ſtill have the far greater part of their cloth, both for home conſumption and for ſending to Italy, and likewiſe that which they ſmuggle into France; at the ſame time owning that the French clothes, at leaſt thoſe of the firſt ſort, are preferable to the Engliſh.

The laſt war, being very detrimental to the jewel trade in France, had driven a great number both of workmen and dealers from Paris; and the preſent war has occaſioned a ſtill more conſiderable emigration. The Genevans have received them kindly, and ſet them to work; ſo that jewelry at preſent fully repairs the breach, which the induſtry of the Engliſh had made in their watch trade: they ſeem even in a fair way to ſupplant France in that conſiderable branch. The ſtandard of the gold and ſilver which they work up is left to themſelves; but the ſtandard is what a fine lady or a fopling, who muſt have a ſnuff-box or a tweezer, little concern themſelves about: beſides, here is no duty to be paid; and as to the duties of import into France and Spain, their way of eluding thoſe inconveniences is this: The Genevan dealer and his ſervant ſet out from Geneva well mounted, and with two portmanteaus ſtocked with watches and trinkets; the maſter is in a Swiſs half uniform, and, at every paſs and gate of a town,

town, claps on a cockade; to every *Qui va la?* his anſwer is *Officier Suiſſe*, and he goes on without further ceremony.

The Geneva trade conſiſts chiefly in muſlins, calicoes, lawns, and flowered linen. The greater part of the muſlins worn in France come from hence, and Geneva has them from Swiſſerland. In the laſt war Geneva even ſupplied the ſale at port L'Orient with theſe goods, which otherwiſe muſt have failed by the delay of the India company's returns. As to theſe matters, all Swiſſerland may be looked on as one vaſt manufacture, in which every advantage concenters; entire freedom, exemption from all duties, plenty of the raw ſubſtances, cheapneſs of labour, and the inceſſant induſtry of a very laborious people. It muſt have been by means more effectual than ſchemes, memoirs, and diſſertations, that Geneva and Baſil have contrived to put off, to the very utmoſt it was poſſible, the prohibition of printed cottons in France. A pretty nice conjecture of the advantages or diſadvantages of ſuch prohibition, with reſpect to that kingdom, might have been formed only from the buſtle and conſternation of the traders of thoſe two cities. Since the ceſſation of it, they give over that very profitable branch of their commerce as loſt for ever, when the return of peace ſhall reduce the price of cotton and dying drugs in France.

The reſult of this account ſhews, that the ballance of a very conſiderable trade between France, Swiſſerland, and the Genevans, is entirely in favour of the latter, who take nothing from France but corn; and this makes but a very ſlender de-

duction from the ſums which the payment of the Swiſs troops draws from France; and this trade is always ſuch as to be entirely to their advantage, whether part of the corn be remitted into Germany, or, as ſometimes is done, they re-import into France that ſame corn, which is always with a conſiderable profit.

Among the channels which bring French money to Geneva, may be reckoned the celebrated Tronchin, who is to this city what Eſculapius was to the diſtrict of Epidaurus. As the Romans took that god out of his temple, and brought him to Rome; ſo have the French drawn Mr. Tronchin to Paris: but he made no long ſtay there.

When we paſſed through Geneva, M. Voltaire was at the *Delices*, with his nieces and a young ſpark his nephew. We waited on them, and were charmed with their œconomy and manner of living; it is enough to ſay, the honours of the houſe are performed by M. Voltaire.

Gratia, fama, valetudo contingit abunde,
Et lautus victus non deficiente crumena.

He was then exerciſing a company of actors, whoſe theatre was a quarter of a league both from the *Delices* and from Geneva, but in the territories of Savoy. One of the two days which I ſpent with him, the actors came to rehearſe his *Merope*, in which he aſſiſted them, reading every ſentence after them, at firſt in a low languid voice, but gradually aſſuming the fire of the compoſition.

Non

Non vultus, non color unus,
Nec comptæ mansêre comæ, ſed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument, majorque videri
Nec mortale ſonans.

And from this fire iſſued like ſo many ſcintillations, the reaſons he gave to his actors for modulating the voice, for raiſing, or lowering the utterance, for animating or moderating the geſture, for quickening or ſlackening the dialogue *(a)*. I do not know that I was ever ſo entertained and affected at a play, as at this rehearſal.

On taking my leave of M. Voltaire, he favoured me with his picture, accompanied with a ſingular preſervative againſt the Inquiſition's flames, ſhould it be diſpoſed to deſtroy or disfigure the picture.

SAVOY and the ALPS.

Savoy begins at the gates of Geneva, which was formerly a part of it; but now their territories are ſeparated by the Arva. The people of that part of Savoy which we travelled through, except the cantons of Chambery and Maurienne, carry in their air and countenance the impreſs of the rigours of that climate. The animated part of the ſpectacle, which nature offers here, conſiſts of faces of a livid paleneſs, huge wens, meagre and languid bodies. And beſides phyſical ſufferings, theſe poor people labour

(a) According to Cicero, there is no doing any thing to the purpoſe in this exerciſe, but *cum ſummo labore, ſtomacho, miſeriâque. Jam enim*, adds he (and to whom can it be better applied than to M. Voltaire) *quo quiſque in eo genere ſolertior eſt & ingenioſior hoc docet iracundius.* Pro Roſc. Comæd.

under political preſſures. In times of peace, they are not diſpenſed from keeping the militia on foot. The impoſts, if they may be believed, are enormous; and well may they ſeem ſuch, however ſlender in themſelves, as ſcarce leaving to thoſe on whom they are levied wherewith to keep life and ſoul together; and, what ſtill aggravates theſe oppreſſive burdens is the ſeverity of levying them. Judging of their ſovereign by themſelves, believing all his dominions to be like their craggs, and ſtruck with the appearance of opulence and grandeur which France diſplays in compariſon of their country, they could wiſh Savoy united to France; imagining, to be ſure, that a potent monarch could not find in his heart to require any thing from ſuch a country as theirs. Yet it ſeems cultivated as far as practicable, although it may be preſumed, that, by ſome abatement in the levies of men and money, it would be both better cultivated and better peopled, as thus the people's induſtry, who are both very ſober and very laborious, would be able to exert itſelf.

Annecy is beholden for its ſubſiſtence to the devotion paid to the relics of St. Francis de Sales, and the money of ſtrangers whom that devotion draws hither. Chambery affords nothing remarkable but its delightful ſituation, and this is but a very relative beauty, which, in any other country, would not take the eye ſo much. Here we fell in company with two Swiſs officers in the king of Sardinia's ſervice; they came from Berne, their native country, and were going to do duty at Turin. The elder (Mr. Charmer), beſides his having frequently travelled this road, is a gentleman of literature,

rature, great parts and politeneſs, and perfectly acquainted with Italy, ſo that no company could better ſuit our taſte and the object of our travels.

At ſupper, which cemented our acquaintance, was a young Engliſh gentleman, under the tuition of a man in a riding-coat, with a ſupercilious look, a wild ſtare, totally ignorant of the Engliſh language, murdering the French, and his behaviour rough and pedantic: in a word, very little qualified for the function of Mentor to a young traveller. The Swiſſers began the converſation with him; it turned on the Romiſh religion, that of Swiſſerland, and that of England. The jeſuits were deſcanted on at large, as they now are every where. Another member of the company was a Spaniſh friar, who, from his own knowledge of Paraguay, maintained, that all the forces of Spain and Portugal put together were not ſufficient to wreſt that country from the jeſuits. The ſaid Mentor engroſſed the whole talk, and held forth on all theſe points ſo, that we might not in the leaſt doubt of his being a good church of England man. He and his Telemachus ſetting off the next day before us, we underſtood that the pupil was a catholic, and his governor a jeſuit of Turin, carrying him back to England. The Swiſſers, ſo far from being concerned for the freedom of their evening's table-talk, ſeemed to wiſh that they might meet with many more ſuch adventures.

At Chambery are two ways for paſſing the Alps: one by the Tarentaiſe, which, after ſkirting the Iſere, opens by mount St. Bernard into the valley of Aouſt; the other by Maurienne,

which, ascending the Arche or Arc for about twenty leagues, ends at mount Cenis. The latter is the most frequented, as indeed the least difficult, *est enim*, says Ammianus Marcellinus, *e Galliis venientibus pronâ humilitate devexa.* This continual declivity, which the Arche follows in its fall, leads almost insensibly to the summit of mount Cenis. The Isere, less rapid than the Arche, the slope of its bed being more gradual, leads to the foot of mountains, which, on their arrival, travellers are obliged to scale.

It must not be imagined that the passes in the Alps, where the known roads terminate, are like the famous Caspian gates in mount Caucasus, straits with gates to shut, and where a small detachment may put a whole army to a stand, if the Greek historians and modern travellers have not imposed on us, or they themselves been imposed on. The Alps are open on all sides to those who are acquainted with the defiles, the straits, the issues and communications. Whatever advantage such an acquaintance with the country may be of to the people for their defence, we find that in all ages foreign armies have succeeded in making their way through it.

The most celebrated of these enterprizes is that of Hannibal, and against many disadvantages, a frozen climate insupportable to an army of Africans and Spaniards, a total ignorance of the country, which was all up in arms, the trouble occasioned by the elephants and the incumbrance of the several machines appertaining to ancient artillery. His opening a way through a rock by dissolving it with vinegar, has been pompously celebrated by the Latin historians and poets, not consisting

conſidering the *fides Punica*; and theſe have been blindly followed by the crowd of commentators and ſucceeding hiſtorians. Polybius miſtruſting the matter repaired in perſon to the ſpot; and in the account which, from this ſurvey, he gives of Hannibal's croſſing the Alps into Italy, the ſtory of the rock is found to be no more than an accident very common to roads made in mountainous countries, that is the falling in, for the length of a ſtade and a half, of the ground which formed the road, on the ſide of a ſteep rock. This accident, which, after viewing the ground, Polybius might have taken for the laſt effort of the mountaineers enmity againſt Hannibal, retarded that general's march, putting him under a neceſſity of trying ſome other paſſage, and, finding none, of returning to the rock, and clearing away there; an operation which took up the whole Carthaginian army four days. Moſt authors, who mention this operation, ſay that his intention was to open a way through the very rock; but what was much eaſier and anſwered the ſame end, was only repairing the way which had fallen down, and was no more than a cauſeway of ſtones laid one over the other, and reſting againſt the ſide of the rock; ſuch to this day is the road down the Alps in many places. Livy expreſſes this operation by a word which is differently read, but the import nearly the ſame: *milites ducti ad rupem muniendam* or *minuendam*. The firſt reading which comes nearer to Polybius's τὸ χρεμνον ἐξοκοδομει, indicates the road raiſed on the ruins of the former; the ſecond, the uſe made of the rock itſelf, by taking from its maſs part of the ſtones neceſſary for making the cauſeway.

Polybius

Polybius omits the means of the operation, saying only, το χρεμνόν ἐξοκοδόμει μέτα πόλλης τῆς ταλαιπωρίας: and Livy, in saying that a way of a stade and a half was opened in the very rock, has preferred the marvellous to the probable. (*a*) To reconcile this fact with the brevity of Polybius's relation and to the indications which the present state of the ground furnisheth, may it not be said that Hannibal fell to work on the rock with every method used for that kind of operation, before gunpowder was found out: that at first he availed himself of the fissures or crevices along the top and the side of the rock, for breaking away as much as possible of the surface, and, when totally stripped, he caused it to be torrified, that the action of the fire might open fresh chasms in it? This method we may suppose he owed to the Spaniards in his army, that being practised in working their mines.

As to the vinegar made use of, it was anciently very common in armies, and several ways useful to the soldiers, to whom it was distributed by allowances; and no less beneficial would it be to our troops: it was one of the strongest dissolvents known to the ancients, and the Spaniards to this day make use of it, together with fire, for dissolving pieces of an ore mine, blown up by gunpowder. Thus the remaining objection does not lye in the using vinegar for an operation of this kind, nor in the difficulty of finding a requisite quantity in such a country, but only in the impossibility of inject-

(*a*) *Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt, molliuntque modicis anfractibus clivos, ut non jumenta solùm, sed et elephanti deduci possint.*

ing

ing it on the body of an ignited rock, almoſt red hot.

Had I foreſeen that this diſcuſſion would have led me ſo far, I ſhould not have meddled with it; they whom it may diſguſt will be ſo kind as to excuſe it, and likewiſe indulge me in a few obſervations concerning the place where Hannibal croſſed the Alps.

What light the ancients have left us on this head, is loſt in the obſcurity of the places they mention, in the uncertainty of later writers on the ſite of thoſe places, and in the alterations of their names. Were the tradition of the country to decide, it was certainly mount St. Bernard which Hannibal paſſed. From that ſo memorable paſſage, numberleſs authors ſay this part of the Alps came to be diſtinguſhed by the name of *Alpes Penninæ*; and on this road is ſtill ſhewn the rock, which, according to the ſame tradition, paſſes for that opened by Hannibal, with ſome ſuppoſed remains of a Punic inſcription, intended by that general as a memorial of ſuch a ſignal atchievement. But Simler's conjectures for his having paſſed by the way of mount Cenis or mount Genevre, appear to me better grounded, 1ſt as Hannibal began his march from Dauphiné, mount Genevre and mount Cenis faced him; 2d ten days brought him from the banks of the Rhone to the Alps; 3d from the ſummit of theſe mountains he had a view of Piedmont, of which he availed himſelf to encourage his army againſt the difficulties of the deſcent. Now of all the Alpine mountains which have an iſſue into Italy, it is only from the tops of mount Cenis and mount Genevre that Piedmont can be diſcovered. 4th to theſe arguments let me add that the Carthaginian

thaginian army being ſtopped on the ſummit of the Alps, by the falling in of the road, encamped four days on that ſummit with its elephants and all its baggage, *caſtra in ipſo jugo poſita*; the ſummit of mount Cenis afforded them a level of near two leagues, as if made for the encampment of ſo conſiderable an army; whereas I know from a ſurvey of my own, that neither mount Saint Bernard nor mount Genevre, have any thing like ſuch a ſpacious ſurface. In a word, though the deſcent along mount Cenis has been improved by immenſe works, though the greater part of its preſent road be formed amidſt the very rocks blown up by mines, yet are there ſome places, where the road, as formed of broken fragments of rocks heaped up, might either by an accidental fall, or being over ſet by the country people, throw an army whoſe route lay behind it, into the ſame plunge as Hannibal's was.

The chevalier Follard, Vol. IV. lays out Hannibal's march along mount Lens, the Lautaret, mount Genevre, the defile of Seſtrieres and the valley of Pragelas: he will by no means allow mount St. Bernard the honour of this famous paſſage; as to mount Cenis, at that time, ſays he, "it was inacceſſible to an army," and he adds, "I even "queſtion whether this paſſage was open in thoſe "times."

Allowing this aſſertion, and his doubt to be of equal weight: it may be obſerved that Maurienne, as a ſpot tolerably pleaſant, in the midſt of a moſt diſmal country, was in ancient times one of the beſt peopled, and conſequently one of the beſt known and moſt frequented cantons of the country of the Allobrogians, and had a biſhop even in the primitive

tive times of chriſtianity; that the river on which its capital ſtands, led, in going up it, to mount Cenis, through a long chain of valleys or defiles, more or leſs open; that on the plot at the ſummit of this mountain is a road, the like ſcarce to be met with in the fineſt plains. Laſtly, that the reaſons for which this road has ever been deemed the *Strada Romana*, and for which it is now the moſt known, and the moſt frequented of all the Alpine roads, muſt in very early ages have pointed it out to obſervation, and conſequently opened it.

To theſe conſiderations in favour of mount Cenis it may be ſubjoined, that, according to Polybius, that is according to the very text of the chevalier Follard, Hannibal before he marched his army among the mountains, had for ten days ſucceſſively ſkirted a river, which in the chevalier Follard's opinion could be no other than the Iſere; 2d that the country people having made diſpoſitions for oppoſing his paſſage, he, after his firſt march, encamped in valleys, the heights of which they were poſſeſſed of, and that having in the night made himſelf maſter of thoſe heights, he, by a forced march the next day reached the mountaineers chief town, *Caſtellum*, ſays Livy, *quod erat caput ejus regionis*. Now I would aſk thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the frontiers of Savoy and Dauphiné, for inſtance Mr. Bourcet, whether a march of ten days along the Iſere, from its influx into the Rhone, did not bring Hannibal to the line, which running parallel to this river, at preſent ſeparates the territories of France and thoſe of Savoy; whether this ten days march did not reach a great way beyond mount Lens, where the chevalier Follard begins his route through

the

the Alps; whether the *caput ejus regionis*, to which after leaving the Iſere, he fought his way in two ſmall days journey, does not denote, *St. Jean de Maurienne*; in a word whether at ſuch a height, in going up the Iſere, and whether at this diſtance from that ſame height, there was any other chief town or capital of a canton beſides St. Jean de Maurienne.

Let it be further obſerved that Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xv. c. 20. whoſe authority the ſaid chevalier produces, has left us a particular deſcription of ſeveral roads laid open at different times, for going from Italy into Gaul. He firſt explicitly deſcribes that which the chevalier Follard delineates as Hannibal's, by mount Genevre, Matronæ Verticem, and Brianſon, caſtellum Virgantiam. Afterwards ſpeaking of the real road which Hannibal took, he makes him go, *per Tricaſtinos et oram Vocontiorum extremam, ad Saltus Triccrios.* Now had the informations preſerved by tradition and hiſtory concerning this expedition, correſponded with the chevalier's ſyſtem, Amianus Marcellinus, without bewildering his readers by particularizing theſe cantons, would only have ſaid that Hannibal took the road which he had deſcribed along mount Genevre and Brianſon.

We ſhall now cloſe theſe obſervations with noticing that the ſix marches which, from the chief town Hannibal had made himſelf maſter of at his entrance among the Alps, brought him to the foot of the ſummit of theſe mountains, to uſe Polybius's terms, exactly fill up the diſtance between St. Jean de Maurienne, and the foot of mount Cenis. As to the engagement with the mountaineers

which

which disturbed his fifth march, it may be placed between Bramens and Soliers, in a kind of tunnel formed by mountains opening to the right, whilst on the left the Arche, confined by a craggy mountain, along which it winds, leaves but a very narrow way in the flanks of this mountain, which may be the same on whose top Hannibal with half his army spent a very bad night.

From Chambery, after crossing the Isere, beyond Montmelian, we came on the twenty second of June, to Aiguebel. It must certainly be by way of antiphrasis, that such a pretty name was given to such a disagreeable place: with the sky perfectly serene and clear, all the horizon was covered with a thick browniſh red fog, of a very nauseous smell, and so early as five in the evening, the sun had left Aiguebel; a water or rather a yellowish scum, very offensive both to the smell and sight, trickled down from all parts of the mountains, which intercepted its light. In the village is a sort of a well, the bottom of which rung with the grating sibilations of the waters of the Arche, and the noise of the fragments of rocks rolling with its current. The several mines of metals with which these mountains are enriched, could not reconcile our imagination to this dismal place. We were however entertained with an extraordinary phænomenon, quite unforeseen. An hour after the sun had disappeared, and by its absence and the fog, night seemed to have taken place, a ray darting, between a vista in the mountains, and, piercing the fog, blazed like a luminous body, and for the space of five or six minutes

minutes diffuſed a clear light, throughout the whole valley.

The inhabitants of ſuch a place, I concluded muſt be Autochthones, and my curioſity led me to pay a viſit to the oldeſt man in the place, who was a farrier. I aſked him whether he or his father had ever known any ſtranger to come and ſettle at Aiguebel; he anſwered with an oath that Aiguebel's blood had never been mixed with any foreign blood, except travellers and the canons of its little collegiate church: this was his anſwer. Then he aſked me news about France, and what I thought of the beauties of Aiguebell, and all with a chearfulneſs which ſurprized me. Afterwards I ſet the whole place in motion to get me change for a French crown, but it was not to be had: all whom I aſked told me, as it were with one voice, that within a few days the tax gatherers had been about, and ſwept Aiguebel of every ſou.

The Arche which we had again met with there, carried us to mount Cenis: its bed is a kind of eſcalier more or leſs ſteep, and clogged with maſſes of rocks, which it carries along with a thundering clatter: it is increaſed by all the waters of the ſtreights, which terminate at its bed, and by water-falls from perpendicular rocks. The caſcades which are very common, and at a diſtance taken for perpendicular plat-bands of ſnow, are as far beyond any thing of the kind in any European prince's palace, as the fineſt caſcades there are beyond thoſe of the Paris opera. The clearneſs of the waters is heightened by the bottom of the rock over which they run without touching it; theſe are generally fragments of rocks, having a perpendicular perforation

perforation through their centre, and tinged with a ferruginous colour differently ſhaded. The manner of theſe caſcades reaching the bottom, likewiſe drew my attention; I could not but admire a ſheet ten feet broad, and falling from a height of a hundred feet, yet in appearance rather gently reſting itſelf on the ſpot where it falls, with a ſlight ebullition.

The place we lay at, after leaving Aiguebel, was ſtill worſe, as, beſides the ſame diſmal ſituation, it is no uncommon thing for gangs of banditti to ſurprize paſſengers in their beds; however we had the good fortune to eſcape them. From thence, farther among the Alps, oppoſite to Bramens, is a hamlet called Abries or Abris, on the left of the Arche.

This I take to be the place where died Charles the Bald, and not at Bryon nor Briord in Breſſe, as the Breſſians had told me. And, indeed the annals of St. Bertin, in their account of the death of this prince ſay, that in his return from Italy being, by the poiſon which his phyſician had given him, taken ill in croſſing mount Cenis, he ſtopped at a place called Brios, where he ſent for Richilda his conſort, who was waiting for him at St. Jean de Maurienne, and that after lying eleven days in that condition he expired in *viliſſimo tugurio*, a very mean cottage. Had this Brios been in Breſſe, Richilda muſt have been there along with her huſband, whether ſhe had come from France to meet him, or whether, after accompanying him in his Italian expedition, ſhe had returned over the Alps before him. In the firſt caſe, being come ſo far as St. Jean de Maurienne, ſhe muſt have met him

there; and especially in the irrecoverable condition in which he then was, she would have accompanied him to Bresse and not have stayed at St. Jean. In the other case, he would have taken her with him at his passing through St. Jean de Maurienne; so that from every circumstance, this hamlet must have stood between the last town and mount Cenis. Almost all the contemporary annals, and from them the chronicles of St. Denis, relate that in the very place where Charles died, "his attendants ripped open his body and took "out the intrails, and having well washed and "embalmed them, put them in a case, intending "to carry them to St. Denis's church in France, "he having chosen that place for his interment; "but beginning to smell strong, and the stench "increasing so as to become intolerable, they "buried him at Vercelli in the church of St. "Eusebius the Martyr." This the annals of St. Bertin contradict, saying, that Nantua was the place of his interment: It was not till several years after his death that his son and the monks of St. Denis, who had tasted largely of his munificence, caused his remains to be translated to St. Denis *(a)*; and to this last duty nothing less than two visions could induce them.

The indifference with which this emperor's body was embalmed, and left on the road, the uncertainty of the historians of his age on the place of his interrment, the oblivion in which he lay for several years, the remisness of later writers to find out and ascertain, whether Nantua was really his burial place, as St. Bertin's annals affirm, or Ver-

(a) Chron. de St. Denis.

celli,

celli, according to the chronicle of St. Denis, and other annals of thoſe times, ſo many neglects do not ſhew any great regard for Charles's memory. He had almoſt accompliſhed the re-union of the ſcattered limbs of his grandfather Charlemain's empire; but an ambition without views, giddy and incoherent politics, a blind confidence in worthleſs people, of theſe united limbs made but a ſkeleton ill put together, ſo that it ſoon fell to pieces, and the Carlovingian race was involved in its ruin.

We croſſed mount Cenis the day before Midſummer-day, and it was the firſt time we had felt what might be called real hot weather. In our aſcent, however, we ſaw ſnow in ſeveral places. On our reaching the ſpacious level which extends itſelf along the ſummit, we found a moſt beautiful ſky and clear air, and the ground all over covered with very lively verdure and flowers almoſt in bloom. Among theſe flowers we obſerved ſome narciſſus's, and moſt beautiful ranunculus's of a jonquille yellow, with ſomething of that ſmell; alſo panſey violets with very large petals, and a fragrancy equal to any orange-flower eſſence. But the very next day being Midſummer-day, all this verdure and theſe charming flowers were to be given up to the flocks of the neighbouring country, which come annually on that day, to take poſſeſſion of the ſummit, there remaining till the ſnowy weather.

We ſtopped at a priory in the middle of the plain, having ſupped the evening before with the prior, who had invited us to refreſh ourſelves at his houſe. On our coming there, we found the cloth laid, excellent wine and trouts which he had

juſt caught, in a lake facing his hermitage, at the bottom of a kind of cup, which the ſummit of mount Cenis forms. The colour, firmneſs, and taſte of the trouts, which the prior himſelf ordered to be dreſſed, might induce epicures to come to mount Cenis, were it only to feaſt themſelves on the ſpot. This hoſpitality the prior ſhews to all pilgrims whom he accounts capable of placing a due value on his trouts, and in the acknowledgment of the pilgrims conſiſts the beſt part of the priory's revenue. We deſired him to put up ſome ſlips of anemonies with ſeeds of violets and other flowers, leaving him a direction to Lyons with a ſix livre crown-piece as a gratuity; but unfortunately this commiſſion ſlipt his memory.

Out of the lake breeding theſe excellent trouts, iſſues the leſſer Doria, on the ſide of which lies the deſcent into Italy; but to the account given of the above plain, where this lake is, we muſt add, for the ſatisfaction of the naturaliſts, that the kind of cup formed by it, is bordered with very lofty eminences, ſo that literally it cannot be ſaid to be on the ſummit of mount Cenis. Half way up the ſide of one of theſe eminences, and equal with the priory, it is, that the plains of Piedmont firſt come in ſight; and this may be the ſpot from whence Hannibal ſhewed them to his army! *In promontorio quodam undè longè ac latè proſpectus erat, conſiſtere juſſis militibus, Italiam oſtentat, ſubjectoſque Alpinis montibus circùm-padanos campos.*

We croſſed mount Cenis in the uſual carriage, that is, a hand-barrow like a hurdle, fixed to two ſticks. This is the carriage which the nobleſt grandees muſt take up with in paſſing the Alps; the

the fare-hire is not unreaſonable, and is ſettled by the king of Sardinia at ſo much per carrier, but the number of carriers for thoſe who come from France, is left to the ſyndic of Laſneburgh. On our arrival this ſyndic came to us, and after, as it were, meaſuring and weighing us by the eye, he pronounced that we ſhould want fourteen carriers, ſix for me and eight for my fellow-traveller, having more fleſh upon his bones than me. At length by compounding we got off for ten carriers, in the arithmetical proportion laid down by the ſyndic. Theſe carriers relieving each other alternately go at a great rate, and the *relais* furniſhes talk to the paſſengers by the way; this talk generally turns on the cardinals, the generals, the princes and princeſſes whom they have had the honour of carrying, and the generoſity of thoſe eminencies and highneſſes. One told me that his father had carried M. de Vendome, and that this M. de Vendome was the drolleſt fellow in the world. I aſked them whether they had never heard of a captain of Algerines, one Hannibal, croſſing mount Cenis with a great army, about two thouſand years ago. They told me they had heard of ſuch a one, and that the folks of mount St. Bernard ſaid it was through their very country that he had paſſed; but marſhal Villiers and the cardinal de Polignac had aſſured the people of Laſneburg, that it was by the way of mount Cenis. This carrying continues for near four leagues; our ſervants performed the journey on mules, likewiſe hired at Laſneburg according to the ſettled rate, with which, a little muttering excepted, they were very well ſatisfied.

Livy's deſcription of the deſcent into Italy is perfectly juſt: *Pleraque Alpium ab Italiâ, ſicut breviora, ità arctiora ſunt: omnis fere via præceps, anguſta, lubrica.* To give an idea of this precipice, it ſuffices to ſay, that the deſcent is not quite three leagues, and the aſcent takes up full twenty-five. We were amazed at the rapidity of the Arche, along which the way lies in aſcending; but compared to the little Doria, along which you go down, it only creeps. The fall of the latter is one continual caſcade, diſtributed by flights of twenty, thirty, fifty feet perpendicular height, down which the water precipitates itſelf like ſurf, or very light froth, ſo that at ſome diſtance it looks like the tranſparent clouds ſailing along in a fine ſummer's ſky.

The road of this deſcent is a zigzag at very acute angles, contrived and laid out with admirable art, and on it our carriers trotted as faſt as the beſt chairmen in the ſtreets of Paris. They reſted but two or three times, and in theſe intervals, they placed the two hand-barrows along ſide of each other, on the point of a rock, where, ſitting on the ground, we talked of whatever remarkable had occured to us. To ſhorten the way they would ſtride over the point of the angles, and there we and our carriages ſometimes hung over a precipice two or three thouſand perpendicular feet in depth. The very mules, when their riders are ſo ventureſome, or not knowing how to guide them, truſt to them for fear of worſe, take the ſame bold pace. This deſcent is to travellers, like being driven into Italy by a ſtorm.

From Noveleſe, the firſt place on even ground in going to Suſa, the Swiſs officers ſhewed us the back

back of Aſſiette-ſtrait, famous for the attacks made on it in 1747, by the chevalier de Belleiſle, who got himſelf and ſo many brave fellows knocked on the head there. M. Charmer, who was at the defence of that poſt, told us, that had that expedition ſucceeded, it would have laid open Piedmont and all the king of Sardinia's dominions to the French; that it would have ſucceeded had the attack, according to the chevalier Belleiſle's plan, begun an hour ſooner; that ſtill it might have ſucceeded, had it been carried on half an hour longer; for when the French retreated, the Piedmonteſe troops had ſpent all their ſhot, and almoſt all their powder. *Adeo fortuna in omni re dominatur*, Salluſt. So much is there of chance in every thing.

PIEDMONT.

SUSA.

Suſa, towards the Alps, is the key of Piedmont; it ſtands in the center of the opening into this plain. As it is commanded on the right and left, its fortifications, which might make a figure before the uſe of artillery, its walls and the ſquare towers along them, are of no manner of account now, but for their antiquity. Theſe towers, and ſome others of the ſame conſtruction within this town, are ſomething like the tower of St. Germain des Pres, that of S. Pierre de Chalons, and ſome other edifices of this kind, eſteemed by antiquarians as valuable monuments of Gauliſh architecture. The lower part is a mere

lump of ſtone-maſonry, without any openings or windows, till the height of thirty or forty feet: above are two or three ſtories, which may almoſt be ſeen through, and the openings decorated, or rather loaded with pillars, void of all proportion and determinate form, in the model, baſe and capital; the ſeparation of the ſtories is marked on the outſide, by a freeze of chequer-work. The pillars of theſe towers, and many others of the like conſtruction, in ſeveral parts of Lombardy, are generally white marble, and the gaps of the openings, where they ſtand, are lined with the ſame marble.

Beſides theſe Gauliſh remains, Suſa has a monument of Roman antiquity, a triumphal arch, raiſed in the commencement of the Roman empire: it conſiſts of large blocks of very beautiful Carrara marble, and well preſerved. A deſcription of it is to be found in the Atlas of Piedmont. Marquis Maffei has alſo deſcribed it; but a Piedmonteſe engineer, diſguſted at the little agreement of thoſe deſcriptions with the monument itſelf, which he had cloſely examined, has publiſhed a later with all its particulars and illuſtrations, which deſerve the more to be taken notice of by architects, as the common rules have not been very ſcrupulouſly obſerved in that ſtructure.

The inſcription on the freeze of this arch was in letters of gilt braſs; but have been ſtolen: the vacuities in which theſe letters were inſerted are ſtill to be ſeen, and from their combination and reſpective poſition, the Piedmonteſe artiſt has reſtored the inſcription. According to this reſtorer, the arch was erected by Coſſius, king of a part of

of Piedmont and the Alps, though the inſcription itſelf ſtyles him only prefect. Suetonius, indeed, ſpeaks of a king in theſe parts, whoſe country was reduced into a province by Nero.

About a mile from Suſa, on a hillock, where the mountains begin to appear at ſome diſtance, the king of Sardinia has lately erected a citadel called fort Brunette: all the inventions of art, eſpecially relating to mines and counter-mines, and theſe take in every point from whence the fort might be attacked or inſulted, are ſaid to be exhauſted on this fortreſs. Nobody is allowed to go into it, or ſo much as to look at it; we happened to be caſting an eye on a part of the outworks where men were at work; but we were ſoon, though with great civility, deſired to withdraw.

TURIN.

This city takes up the center of a plain, overlooked by the Alps and the Appennine, and makes a very grand appearance; its gates, ſtreets, churches, palaces, form viſta's, nothing equal to which is to be ſeen in the cities of France.

Yet, on a particular view of each of theſe objects, the eye is offended at the ſtrangeneſs of the architecture, theſe edifices being awkward maſſes, with parts which ſeem to hit againſt one another; and what at firſt attracts notice, is ſoon turned into diſguſt. One would conclude ſuch a groteſque ſtyle to be the product of the Borromini ſchool, were not the royal chapel at Turin, built before that architect flouriſhed, a model in this kind. *Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.* The church of the Theatines

Theatines at Paris is in this taſte, which the ſtucco artiſts, having given into it, are ſpreading all over Italy. It is a new kind of Gothic, become neceſſary to eyes tired with the beautiful ſimplicity of the antient monuments, and the edifices erected from thoſe models *(a)*. *La ſazietà di ciò che lungamente ſi é adoprato, fa mutare il guidicio e ſpeſſo lo inganna, e fa appetere, ed appreſſo tentare coſe nuove. Il deſiderio della gloria ſtimola ſempre gli intelletti più vivi à farſi inventori, e ſpezialmente i giovani che confidando molto nelle forze loro e nelle loro imaginazioni, le coſe antiche ricuſano. i. e.* "Satiety of what one has long been uſed to, biaſſing the judgment, often miſleads it, makes it fond of novelties, and next prompts to attempt them. The moſt lively geniuſes are apt, from a thirſt of glory, to ſet up for inventors; and more eſpecially youth, who, full of their abilities and imaginations, deſpiſe the works of former ages." A reflection truely philoſophical, founded on the experience of all ages, and applicable to more arts than one

The king's palace at Turin is worthy of its ſovereign; it has a great number of apartments, which for taſte, diſpoſition, and magnificence of furniture, might have vied with thoſe for which the

(a) Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in the dedication of his grandfather's poems to cardinal Barberini. Quintilian has the ſame thought: *Recta & ſecundum naturam directa nihil habere ex ingenio videntur: illa verò quæ utcumque deflexa ſunt, miramur tanquam exquiſitiora: non aliter quam diſtortis et quocunque modo prodigioſis corporibus apud quoſdam majus eſt pretium, quam iis quæ nihil ex communis habitûs bonis perdiderunt*, l. 1. c. 5. *Reperto quod eſt optimum, qui quærit aliud, pejus appetit*, l. 1. c. 15.

royal

royal houſes in France were ſo much admired before the building of Verſailles. A cleanlineſs very rare in this ſort of houſes is obſervable in every part; it is what the king ſtrictly obliges all his officers to; no nun's cell is kept with more neatneſs than his own chamber and apartment.

Theſe apartments, with the galleries and paſſages, are full of paintings, marble-ſculps, pier-glaſſes, and antique ſtatues. Theſe ſtatues, with a very great number of antique buſts, are part of the wreck of the muſeum of the Gonzagues, dukes of Mantua, brought to Turin on the pillage of that city.

A great part of the pictures are of the Flemiſh ſchool, particularly Gerardow. A dying woman of his, is reckoned his maſter-piece both for deſign and colouring. The moſt remarkable among the paintings of other ſchools are, the elements by Albano, Guerchin's prodigal ſon, the rape of the Sabins by Baſſan, &c. The king is particularly fond of a cloſet in looking-glaſs and enamel, done by the French ſchool; and what heightens its elegance is a number of ſmall pictures by Carlo Vanloo, repreſenting the chief events in Taſſo's Jeruſalem, and ſcattered among the pannels.

One of the halls, in lieu of a table, has an Egyptian antique, and that an unic, the celebrated Iſiac table, of which ſo many copies have been taken and deſcriptions given by antiquarians. The plane is a bronze, embelliſhed with ſilver wire, which in their various contours form a multitude of hieroglyphic compartments; for the ſight of all theſe curioſities, we were obliged to the count de Groſſo-Cavallo, a lord of the bed chamber.

The

The king and royal family never dine in public, it is only at chapel that they are ſeen together. All the family, as likewiſe the princeſs of Savoy, have an air of chearfulneſs, health, harmony and content, which is not the portion of all families, not even the private. The duke of Savoy, being generous as a prince, and obliging as a private perſon, is ſo idolized, that the people fancy it ſometimes gives the king his father a fit of a jealouſy too ſtrong to be quite concealed. His allowance, which is rather ſcanty, he lays out in relieving all the diſtreſſes that come to his knowledge; ſo that to enlarge his bounties he contracts debts. He applies cloſe to buſineſs; but his delight and favourite ſtudy is the art of war, which, ſhould the alliance between Auſtria and France be of any long continuance, is juſt ſo much time and labour loſt.

The king himſelf ſettles the expence of his houſehold; he takes cognizance of the minuteſt parts of government; nothing which has any relation to politics or the revenue is unknown to him. Whilſt we were at Turin, a bale came to the cuſtom-houſe, with the whole edition of a book printed at Lyons. It was a book of military prayers, dedicated to the Piedmonteſe troops, and printed from a like book dedicated to the French troops by the jeſuits of Lyons, without the leaſt difference, but the dedication. Before the bale was delivered, the king had a copy of this prayer book ſtiched for him; and having looked into it, he himſelf wrote an embargo on the bale, which left the jeſuits without hopes of a replevy.

About

About the ſame time died at Turin the archbiſhop of Cagliari, who had been a jeſuit nine years, and as in his laſt moments he had returned to the order again, the fathers buried him in their church and in the habit of a jeſuit. As the corpſe paſſed along, the Piedmonteſe ſaid; *è proprio come una frittata quando rivolgeſi nella padella.* He is as clean as a pancake turned in the frying-pan.

Here it may be obſerved that Turin follows the old cuſtom retained in Italy, but laid aſide in moſt parts of France, of burying the dead with their faces uncovered, a cuſtom which it is ſtrange ſome things tranſacted during our ſtay at Paris have not revived. In reality of what weight can regiſters of burials be? What do they certify who ſign them? It is little better than a blind man's witneſſing to a matter of ſight.

Turin has likewiſe a cuſtom eſſential to the public ſafety, with regard to the minutes of notaries, which are all entered on ſtamp paper in a regular ſucceſſion, without the leaſt gap, and endorſed and ſigned by the magiſtrate of the place where the notary lives. This is obſerved all over Italy, and fully anſwers all forms and the end of a check: in other parts ſuch precautions are never thought of, but when the treaſury will be a gainer.

The univerſity is in a flouriſhing condition, and, beſides its noble ſtructure built by king Victor, and the ſeveral conveniences for its litterary exerciſes, it has a very large library. The inner portico's of this building are full of baſſo relievo's and antique inſcriptions fitted in the walls, and thus forming the moſt ſuitable tapeſtry which could be imagined for a place of ſtudy. This

diſ-

diſpoſition was a thought of marquis Maffei; moſt of theſe antiques are taken out of the ruins of Induſtria, a Roman colony, and now only a ſorry village, at a league from Turin. Theſe ruins are an inexhauſtible mine.

Monuments of this kind, if left to the diſcretion of ſcholars in other countries, would not meet with that reſpect which time itſelf ſeems to have ſhewed them; but in Italy this reſpect is imbibed by education, and of very happy influence it is in diſpoſing youth to admire fine performances. This reſpect is ſo deeply rooted here, that it extends to the very populace.

The apartment appointed for the library contains a rich and valuable collection of books, with a muſeum of antiques, Greek and Latin manuſcripts of the middle age, and a ſeries of old French romances; laſtly, a contempary collection of the acts of the council of Piſa. The bulk of theſe curioſities had a long time been in the houſe of Savoy, but all that remains at preſent in the palace, is a Lactantius of the earlieſt antiquity, and the Iſiac table. The taſte for magnificence of this kind, being brought into Savoy by Margaret daughter to Francis the firſt and ſpouſe to duke Philibert Emanuel, was kept up by Chriſtina Henry the 4th's daughter. Among the moſt remarkable curioſities in this muſeum, is a little vellum book, with a deſign of the famous Julio Romano on every page; this book, ſo valuable for the artiſt's name, as well as for the delicacy and purity of the deſigns, came to the dukes of Savoy, from the cabinet of the former dukes of Milan. All theſe curioſities are in the keeping of Abbé Barthes

or

or Bartholi, known by ſome works of erudition; and he does the honours with an aſſiduity, politeneſs and affability, which led us to think, but very falſely, that the emoluments of his place greatly exceeded thoſe annexed to ſuch functions in other countries.

This muſeum, and the library to which it is annexed, are open all days (holidays and Sundays excepted.) Whenever I went thither, I was greatly ſurpriſed at ſeeing the library always full of young eccleſiaſtics buſied with the fathers and other works relating to their profeſſion. We heard that the epocha for this taſte of learning among them, was only from the laſt years of the reign of king Victor. This prince deprived the jeſuits of the direction of the public ſtudies, and their place has been ſupplied by the univerſity.

A law-theſis at which I was preſent might have given me ſome inſight into the ſtate of juriſprudence here; but being the firſt Latin I had heard beyond the Alps, I could make little or nothing of it: I only thought that the defendant was tolerably maſter of his ſubject, and that from this he drew his anſwers to the objections: it was affirmed to me that theſe anſwers were not communicated; and the ſeſſion was cloſed by diſtributing printed ſonnets in honour of the defendant.

The employments of this univerſity are filled up by ſeculars and religious of different orders. The Barnabites, who in Italy bear the name of regular clerks of the congregation of St. Paul, are in high repute; and their reputation receives a very reſpectable luſtre from father Gerdil, ſo eminent for his works, moſt of which are philoſophical.

ſophic. When we were at Turin, he was talked of for preceptor to the prince of Piedmont, and the king has ſince obliged him to accept of that employment. I have met with but very few literati who talk of the objects of their ſtudies with the perſpicuity, accuracy, energy, and plainneſs of this father, and all in French, which he, with an innate humility, ſays, he knows no more than may be expected from a poor Savoyard.

We alſo paid a viſit to father Beccaria, a genius of another kind; him we found amidſt a variety of machines, and all of his own invention. The expence of theſe machines, moſt of which are for phyſical experiments, is defrayed by his majeſty.

The diverſions at Turin, both of the court and city, make no great noiſe. Though all the eſteem and favours of the court center in the gentlemen of the army; the nobility in general are poor, and take care to ſhun great expences. The merchants complain that they are ſacrificed to the military, and have no other way to keep houſe or provide for their families, but by dint of ſtrict parſimony. Amidſt this ſtate of languor, ſomething of gallantry ſtill ſurvives; but it is ſtill that old faſhioned gallantry which was introduced at Turin by Madame Royale.

Of this gallantry we happened to be in the way of ſeeing a ſpecimen, in a young doctor of Bologna who had ſettled at Turin. He had wit at will, was a good poet, but amorous even to fillineſs, and the object of his paſſion was a young widow. In the early days of his felicity with her, that is, when after two or three months of very

very aſſiduous and reſpectful courtſhip, ſhe began to allow him to kiſs her hand; he introduced to her a Frenchman, who, for ſome time before, had removed to Turin, and in whom he believed he had found as truſty a friend, as he fancied his goddeſs faithful. The Piedmonteſe beauty and the Frenchman ſoon came to an underſtanding, though bearing with the doctor for ſome time, till on occaſion of a trifling quarrel the fair one diſmiſſed him, charging him never more to ſet his foot within her houſe, nor even in the ſtreet, nor ſo much as to come within her ſight. Whom ſhould he chuſe for comforter and counſellor, but this very friend, imagining him to be wholly taken up with his reconciliation? Soon after we became confidents to both the rivals, and the doctor daily urging his friend to haſten a peace, every viſit brought a copy of verſes on his diſtreſsful ſituation, and often very prettily turned. The Frenchman promiſed, gave hopes, perceived glimpſes, dreaded obſtacles, took on himſelf to deliver the verſes, and concluded with exhorting the doctor to efface, by patience, all the offences to which his diſgrace had been owing. The poor doctor, in the mean time, loſt his appetite, ſleep fled from him, he neglected all manner of buſineſs, and his brain was crouded with melancholy ideas, which he poured forth in verſes.

One day I aſked him whether his charmer deſerved all he went through on her account; his anſwer was, that I ſhould go and take a walk with him. On coming to a croſs-way, now, ſays he, obſerve at the window of the firſt ſtory, in

the eighth or ninth houſe in the ſtreet we were entering into, and there you will ſee the object of my torture and your curioſity. We came to the end of the ſtreet; I, without telling the houſes, becauſe I imagined that on perceiving what he wanted to ſhew me, he would at leaſt give me notice of it by ſome ſign; and he like a cat which had trod on live coals, or like a poor convict going to the place of execution. When we were got out of ſight of the fatal houſe, he ſtopped, and eagerly throwing his arms about my neck, congratulated me on the happineſs of having enjoyed a ſight, which had been prohibited him theſe two months. I vowed to him that I had ſeen nothing, expecting that he would have given me notice where I was to look, and propoſed to him to walk back; this he rejected with kind a of horror, ſaying, that for the five fingers of his hand, which he held out, he would not do ſuch a thing, as it would ruin him beyond all recovery. This intrigue was ſtill going on when we left Turin; the concluſion, I ſuppoſe, will be, that the Frenchman growing tired of the Piedmonteſe lady, ſhe will make up matters with the doctor; who, all the while, had never taken it into his head to be jealous.

Such, in general, is the gallantry of Italy. They are at great pains to bring on themſelves the frenzies, the evils, and all the miſeries of love; but are utterly unacquainted with its ſweets in united hearts and harmonizing tempers. This, to be ſure, muſt ariſe from the climate. Love, deſires, and every paſſion, are infinitely ſtronger there, than in France and in the North; that

ſprightlineſs,

ſprightlineſs, which is the preſent characteriſtic of French gallantry, is not ſo much a token as the equivalent, or ſupplement to love. Thoſe long winded amours ſung by the romancers of old times, doubtleſs aroſe from deſires more fixed and violent than the preſent.

Gallantry is ſtill at Turin, nearly as Hamilton has deſcribed it in the memoirs of the count de Grammont: a ſeductive work, which ſetting falſity in an amiable light, making perfidy a virtue, and opening the ſecrets of the court to the people, has given ſuch a wound to the public manners of France, as daily grows deeper and wider. Every low-lived blockhead of a petit-maitre, ſets up for a count de Grammont. From Senantes, ſo cruelly expoſed in thoſe memoirs, is deſcended the count de Carail, one of the principal and richeſt noblemen of the court of Turin. He is now building a palace, with a large and well choſen library for public uſe.

Piedmont will preſerve the memory of king Victor, as France preſerves that of Lewis XIV. Turin every where diſplaying that prince's magnificence. Near half this city he has rebuilt on an uniform plan: the better part of the fortifications, the gates, the hoſpital, the univerſity, the country college, ſeveral royal ſeats in the neighbourhood of Turin, are works of his reign: laſtly, for his burial place he has erected a very ſplendid church, where a numerous community of ſecular prieſts officiate. This church and the dwellings of the prieſts form a ſeparate pile of buildings, after the manner of the invalids: they ſtand on the top of a high mountain eaſt of Turin, and in

purſuance of a vow made by king Victor, when Turin was beſieged by the duke of Orleans, to a little madonna worſhipped on that eminence; which on this occaſion as little favoured the French, as the princeſs to whom the commonalty in France impute the raiſing of the ſiege. King Victor, by this ſtructure, was for vying in grandeur with the king of France; but if the Superga be compared with the buildings in which Lewis XIV. meant only to gratify his taſte for magnificence, it is an effort againſt nature; and if brought into competition with the Invalids, it is a mere piece of vanity, of no manner of uſe. In the church of the Auguſtines, at Turin, is a marble buſt, and the following epitaph of cardinal Tournon.

D. O. M.

Carolo Thomæ Maillard, Card. de Tournon, Patriarc. Antioch. Legat. Apostol. *& apud Cinas amplificandæ fidei aſſertori fortiſſimo, qui aduſquè Orientis extrema, longâ, ac difficili navigatione tranſvectus, quum ibi pro religione & eliminandis erroribus viriliter decertaret, à Clem. XI. cujus juſſu arduam ſane provinciam ſuſceperat, ad Rom. Eccleſiæ purpuram aſſumptus, diuturni carceris anguſtias, laudabili ac gloriosâ morte, nuſquam famæ moriturus evaſit*, Macai, 8 Jun. Ann. 1711.

Felix Emmanuel Marchio de Tournon, *frater, hoc amoris & doloris monumentum poſuit*, anno 1712.

Underneath is part of the Latin oration delivered in a conſiſtory, by Clement XI. on the ſaid cardinal's deceaſe.

The

The Turineſe are looked upon by the Italians as the Gaſcoons of Italy; and indeed they come as near to the latter, as they differ from the former in capacity and induſtry; as to knavery, craft, ſuppleneſs, and the main part of their diſpoſition, they are downright Italians. Even at Turin the gaiety is nothing like that of France; it has a melancholy ſly and ſelfiſh caſt; it is the gaiety of a cat, a gaiety all within one's ſelf, and never entertaining to others. It feeds on lonely walks, buffoons, and mountebanks. Of all things, real folly, or what it takes to be ſuch, is its moſt delicious morſel, eſpecially old ſtories or tales; and theſe it has a talent of ſpinning out as long as it pleaſes. To be well acquainted with this odd kind of gaiety, one muſt fall in with it; and this is never better done than by aſſuming the moſt ſilly and credulous air and behaviour. With this maſquerade, I have very often made my ſport at Italians, who at the ſame time were fully perſuaded that they made me the fool of the company (*a*).

The ſubſtance of the commerce of Turin is raw ſilk: the few ſtuffs made there are rather ſhowey

(*a*) Piedmont is governed, 1. by ſtatutes or local cuſtoms: 2. by the written law, in caſes not determined by the ſtatutes: 3. by royal ordinances. King Victor iſſued ſeveral ordinances for ſhortening and leſſening law-ſuits, by ſettling the form of proceedings, and fixing the law in the more uſual caſes: the moſt celebrated on this head came out in the year 1729. By an article of this ordinance, commoners and newly created nobles are not allowed feoffments of truſt and entails; a very weighty article, and which for good reaſons deſerves to be adopted by more than one great ſtate. What indeed is the community the better for preſerving eſtates, when there is often more juſtice, order and good example in the dividing of them?

than ſtrong; and in Italy, which affords a tolerable vent for them, they are chiefly made uſe of in furniture. But the Turin ſtockings are preferable to thoſe of Paris and Languedoc. A demand begins to be made for theſe ſtockings in France. This manufacture was formed here the laſt war, out of the ruins of that of Genoa.

The inhabitants of Lyons, in return for part of the raw ſilks, which they receive from Turin, ſend thither ſome of their ſtuffs. As to linen and drapery, this trade has been broke off between Turin and France fifteen years ago. Till then, this city uſed to have ſeveral warehouſes of French linens, which were diſpoſed of at Alexandria fair, but now the Swiſs have intirely got that trade into their hands: what with the cheapneſs of the Swiſs linens, and the gloſs of thoſe of Sileſia, the goodneſs of the French linen, to the great regret of œconomiſts, is quite forgotten. As to the cloth trade, the Engliſh have had the chief ſhare of it this long time. Can this be owing to the hatred and antipathy, which Addiſon ſays he obſerved in the Piedmonteſe towards France? Either Addiſon ſaw things with the prejudices of an Engliſhman; or the Piedmonteſe are extremely ſoftened: with relation to all theſe very important objects, ſeeing Turin is ſeeing all Italy.

VERCELLI, NOVARA, PAVIA and LODI.

I ſhall not dwell much on theſe places, which are all in Lombardy. We were detained at Vercelli by a ſudden overflowing of the Seſſia: it being on a Sunday, in the month of July, we were entertained with a ſight of a Corpus Chriſti proceſſion. This feſtival had been paſſed for ſome time, but the

the parishes of this town have an agreement that, every one, according to its rank, walks in procession by turns, on some Sundays following Corpus Christi day. It is indeed a general procession; for all the parishes join that which is on duty. Should such an agreement take place at Paris, every Sunday, for no small part of the year, there would be general Corpus Christi processions. That of Novara drew abroad the townsmens daughters, who are not usually seen in the streets. These girls have a great share of beauty, and are all of a brown complexion, from the deep auburn to a lighter cast: the sparkle of their eyes and clearness of their skin were heightened by their heads being dressed in the Grecian manner, that is in their hair. This coiffure, of which nature furnishes almost the whole, is more becoming and graceful than all the art of the Paris milleners. In the Roman times, the territory of Vercelli had golden mines in work, which certainly must have been in the neighbouring part of the Alps *.

I was very much perplexed at what I saw in Novara, and have scarce met with in other places of the Milanese. The charnels of this country for preserving the bones of the dead, are a kind of chapples, where these bones are laid in great order in drawers, which being lined with gilt and marble paper, have something of the appearance of pretty cabinets of natural curiosities. To these drawers were suspended at equal distances, and in the same orderly taste, stiletto's, poniards, daggers, long knives, all more or less rusty. The mystery of all this I found to be, that two ene-

* Plin. Hist. l. xxx. c. 4.

mies being brought to a reconciliation, uſed to come in the evening before theſe chapples, where they embraced one another, and as a token of their intire reconciliation, threw into the charnel the ſtiletto's or knives intended for their revenge: the miniſter of the church finding theſe weapons on the ground, took them up and hanged them to the drawers of the charnel, by way of good example. * I was alſo told, and have ſince been in a way of verifying it, that the Italians lay a very great ſtreſs on prayer to the ſouls in purgatory, whilſt in France they are prayed for: ſo that in Italy the feaſt of all ſouls is not ſo much a day of prayers for the dead as for the living. Whenever theſe ſouls are talked of, it is by the name of *ſantiſſime anime purganti*; and beggars aſk alms more frequently for the ſake *delle animi purganti*, than for God's; hence the reſpect and veneration for the bones of the deceaſed indiſcriminately.

In theſe towns, as over all the Milaneze, the cuſtom-houſe is not ſo much a ſearching place, as an impoſition on travellers: at coming into it, you are not bid to open your baggage, but the word is *la buona mancia per il ſignor official della dogana*, *i. e.* your gratuity to the worthy officer of the cuſtoms: the ſame demand is made in going out, and the ſollicitations of the door-keepers, which from cringing grow threatning, do not ceaſe till experienced travellers go on without minding them. In the Pope's dominions, at the gate of every town, a printed certificate is put into your hand with GRATIS at the bottom; yet you muſt pay for it. At Venice and Naples no money

* See the art. of Milan.

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is demanded; but so many things are declared contraband, and the search is so strict and tedious, that even they who have nothing prohibited belonging to them, bless the countries where a little money saves one such troublesome searches.

The Lodesan, perhaps the most fruitful spot in all Europe, is, together with the Pavesan, become contiguous to the cessions made to the king of Sardinia by the late treaties; and so hurtful is this neighbourhood, that it could wish likewise to come under the dominion of Savoy. This power has saddled its frontier with such duties, imposts and tolls on all things imported and exported, that the Lodesans and Pavesans in some measure buy the corn, the hay, the mulberry leaves, and the several products of their own grounds; an oppression by which they are usually reduced to dispose of them, at a very low rate, to the king of Sardinia's subjects. Pavia is in the more critical condition; the territories of the king of Sardinia reaching to its very gates, (*a*) so that the inhabitants are paying the duties demanded by that prince, to buy the very fruits of their gardens.

Since these measures, which shew the advantage resulting in treaties from a thorough knowledge of places, Pavia and Lodi are thinned by one half, and in all appearance this exuberant country will want hands to cultivate it.

Another detriment to Lombardy is the alliance between France and Austria, stopping up those copious sources, which, on every war, that is about every twenty years, poured into it such large sums from France, Spain and Germany: this the

(*a*) *Vomere portam Ticini perstrinxit. Cic. Phil. 2.*

Lom-

Lombards feel to the quick, and their concern on this head has much more ſenſe and reaſon in it, than the lamentations of the Italian poets and wits, on the diſtreſsful condition of their country, once the queen of the univerſe, but now the field of battle, and prey of nations, who were its ſlaves. Theſe lamentations are no where ſo ſtrongly expreſſed as in a ſonnet of Filicaia's, which all the Italians have by heart. The Abbe Regnier Deſmarais has attempted a latin tranſlation of it, and being perhaps a maſter-piece of this kind of poetry, ſo common in Italy, it may not improperly be inſerted here.

Italia, Italia, o tu cui feò la ſorte
Dono infelice di Bellezza, ond'hai
Funeſta dote d'infiniti guai,
Che in fronte ſcritti per gran doglia porte.
Deh! foſſi tu men bella, o almen più forte,
Onde aſſai più ti paventaſſe, ò aſſai
T' amaſſe men chi del tuo bello a i rai
Par che ſi ſtrugga, e pur ti sfida a morte!
Ch' or giù dall' Alpi io non vedrei torrenti
Scender d'armati, nè del tuo ſangue tinta
Bever l'onda del Pò Gallici armenti.
Nè te vedrei del non tuo ferro cinta
Pugnar col braccio di ſtraniere genti,
Per ſervir ſempre, o vincitrice o vinta.

Tranſlation by the Abbé Regnier Deſmarais.

Italia, infauſto cæli quæ munere pulchra,
Huic referenda vides uni infortunia doti:
Quæ te cumque premunt à fronte inſcripta leguntur.
O utinam, vel pulchra minùs vel fortior eſſes,

Ut

Ut vel amare minùs, vel te magis ille timere
Diſceret, exitium qui victus amore minatur!
Non ego nunc ruere Alpinis effuſa viderem
Caſtra jugis, non Eridanum nunc ſanguine fædum
Strage recens biberet Gallus; nec milite cincta
Non proprio, externâ tentares prælia dextrâ,
Ut victrix, ſeu victa, jugo des colla ſuperbo.

Among the poems of that author, are four other ſonnets and a canzone on the ſame ſubject, with the ſame depth of ſentiment, nobleneſs of ideas, and energy of ſtile. The Italians are divided between the above ſonnet, and that which follows it in the Filicaia collection. I ſhall add it to the former, both as a rival piece, and an ingenuous declaration of what the Italians think of the French and Germans, and of their wars in Italy.

Dov'è, Italia, il tuo braccio, e a che ti ſervi
Tu dell' altrui? Non è, s'io ſcorgo il vero,
Di chi t'offende il difenſor men fero:
Ambo nemici ſono, ambo fur ſervi.
Così dunque l'onor, così conſervi
Gli Avanzi tu del glorioſo Impero!
Così al valor, al valor primiero
Che a te la fede giurò, la fede oſſervi!
Or va: ripudia il valor priſco, e ſpoſa
L'Ozio; e fra ſangue, i gemiti e le ſtrida,
Nel periglio maggior dormi e ripoſa,
Dormi, adultera vil, fin che omicida
Spada ultrice ti ſvegli; e ſonnachioſa
E nuda in braccio al tuo Fedel t'uccida.

The celebrated Laurence de Medicis, the moſt conſummate politician among all the late princes

of

of Italy, and perhaps Europe, formed a ſcheme for keeping the ultramontane nations out of Italy, which having in its own boſom the moſt important manufactures of Europe, did not depend for its ſubſiſtence on the money brought into it by the armies of theſe nations. This project he executed, and what with the ballance of power which he ſettled between the Italian ſtates, and the perſonal regard paid to him in the councils of all foreign courts, he maintained that ſalutary ſcheme till his death. *Morto Lorenzo, comminciarono à naſcere quei cattivi ſemi, i quali non dopò molto tempo (non ſendo già vivo, chi ſapeſſe ſpegnerli) rovinarono, ed anchora rovinano la Italia.* "On the deceaſe of Laurence began to ſpring up theſe noxious ſeeds, which in the want of perſons capable of ſtifling them, ruined Italy and ſtill continue to ruin it."

With this obſervation, and it is founded on facts of which he had been witneſs, Machiavel concludes his hiſtory of Florence.

At Lodi we ſaw the houſe, chamber, and bed, where Francis the firſt is ſaid to have contracted with a baker's wife, that diſtemper which laid him in his grave. The houſe is at the corner of the ſquare facing the cathedral, and is ſtill tenanted by a baker.

In the firſt town, along the road in Lombardy, you find an univerſal diſpoſition for muſic; every body there plays on the violin with catches and trills, and other graces of that inſtrument: the very ſervice in the village churches has the air of a concert, every one ſinging his part according to the pitch of his voice, and accompanied by the organ. As one advances into Italy, this diſpoſition

ſition is found to grow ſtronger, ſo that with regard to this taſte, and the perfection which proportionally follows it, Italy may be compared to a diapaſon and Naples the octave. The paſſion of the Italians for harmony is doubtleſs an effect of their conſtitution, and its predominant melancholy. To them muſic is a conſtitutional want, and a neceſſary remedy: it ſtirs them, and operates on them in reality all the effects attributed to it, in regard to thoſe who have been ſtung by a tarantula: a diſorder, which, in itſelf may be only a violent fit of hypochondriacal melancholy. The talent of the Italians for poetry and the fine arts, their ſteadineſs, which is not the portion of all nations, their obſtinate perſeverance in the objects both of their ſtudies and diverſions, all ſpring from the ſame principle, which, as the ſeveral objects ſhall preſent themſelves on our road, we ſhall have occaſion to elucidate.

MILAN.

Vercelli, Novara, Lodi, and Milan, have one common origin, which all authors agree in attributing to thoſe Gauls, who were tranſplanted into Lombardy, at the famous expedition of Segoveſe and Belloveſe. The common opinion on the etymology of the name of Milan, Mediolanum, has all the uncertainty of this kind of conjectures. It is generally derived from a ſow with a woolly ſkin, the original arms of Milan, as at preſent it bears an adder: this opinion however is no novelty; for Claudian ſpeaking of Milan ſays,

Mœnia Gallis
Condita lanigeræ ſuis oſtentantia pellem.

The

The archbiſhop of Milan was a long time metropolitan of all Lombardy; the people elected him, and he received his confirmation from the emperors; till under Henry II the popes, by the management of the famous Peter Damian, got this confirmation into their hands, and in the 13th century diſmembered Genoa and Bobbio from the metropolitan ſee of Milan, in order to erect Genoa into an archbiſhoprick.

A ſuperficial retroſpect on the diſaſters of this large city, ſucceſſively pillaged, ſacked, and deſtroyed by the Goths, by the Huns, by the Lombards, by the ſucceſſors of Charlemain, by the emperors of the houſe of Swabia, often ruined by its inteſtine commotions, its ambitious enterprizes, and unfortunate expeditions, will incline one to account the preſent inhabitants happy in the tranquility they enjoy, and their own pacific temper.

On a compariſon of their preſent condition, ariſes a problem: Never was Milan better peopled, richer, and more flouriſhing than in its moſt diſaſtrous times. The caſe was the ſame all over Italy, in the midſt of the fierceſt flames of the wars between the Guelphs and Gibelins. And if we look beyond Italy, Greece ſwarmed with men in thoſe ſhining ages, when all its tribes, all its cities were in arms, and ſignalized every year by victories and advantages over their neighbours. And to come nearer to our own times, France has never recovered that population to which it had attained in the midſt of thoſe furious civil wars, with which it was rent under the children of Henry II. Now, could the ſucceeding peace and tran-

tranquility be detrimental to population? By what reaſon, moral, or phyſical, is it promoted by diſſenſions, by wars between town and town, and even between fellow-citizens? Can we, with any analogy, apply to this problem, the cauſes to which the preſident Henault attributes the crowd of great men of all kinds, produced by thoſe tempeſtuous times, which are pleaſing only in ſtory.

"In thoſe critical times," ſays that elegant and profound hiſtorian, "the continual recurrence of "happy and unhappy events ſtrengthens the mind "increaſes its vigour, inſpires a courage ready for "any atchievements, and impreſſes it with that "deſire of glory which is ever productive of great "things."

The viſconti's, the empire's vicars in the Milaneze, aſſumed the ſovereignty of it towards the cloſe of the 13th century; that is, at the time when the kings of France were leaving no ſtone unturned to reunite the ſcattered parts of their kingdom; which, for two hundred years, had remained diſmembered by ſuch uſurpations.

The example of the Viſcontis proved contagious. All the cities in Italy ſet up for independent republics, but were ever jarring at home, and perpetually embroiled in war abroad; united or divided among one another by political alliances or enmities, conquering alternately or conquered, and, amidſt a continual ebb and flow, paſſing from liberty to ſubjection, and from ſubjection to liberty.

In theſe tumultuous democracies, force or craft, placed at the head of the ſtate, either powerful citizens or fortunate ſoldiers; who, being ever grappling

grappling with competitors, all ſure of a party, had with different ſucceſs laboured to perpetuate the principality in their family. The people were a main inſtrument in thoſe revolutions; but the greateſt dangers, both foreign and domeſtic, hung over their chiefs, whom they could hood-wink, even when the authority of the latter bore the moſt favourable appearances. And this proves how very far, even among the common people, the Italian heads are better turned for politics than thoſe of France, and our northern climates. All the people of the latter countries became ſlaves to thoſe uſurpers, who diſmembered Charlemain's empire. They never had a thought, like the Italians, of aſſerting and ſupporting a liberty, which their new maſters were not able to wreſt from them by the ſword.

It is of no weight to ſay, that at the time of that revolution, all thoſe people were already in a ſtate of villanage. This objection might be an argument in our favour, ſince if we recur up to Charlemain, we ſhall find that the condition of the people of France, and Germany, was the ſame as that of the people of Lombardy; and ſince that emperor's time, the feudal law and government, were equally become the eſtabliſhment in the ſeveral countries which he had brought under his dominion. During the declenſion of the Carlovingian race, wiſe councils, conſiſtent meaſures and bold actions ſecured the liberty of the Tranſalpine people; whilſt thoſe of France and Germany were running into ſlavery, from whence, however, royalty, as it gathered ſtrength, has wrought their deliverance. This ſtate of anarchy, a convulſive, but happy ſtate for every nation who

who has its liberty at heart, lasted till the migration of the French into Lombardy, who soon drew thither the other foreign powers. The earth stood silent before them.

The Italian genius being as it were electrified by the continual shock of incessant revolutions, turned itself towards literature and the arts, and cultivated them with a vivific heat, which on a sudden produced immortal masterpieces in all kinds.

Milan had laid the first foundations of its liberty so early as the end of the 10th century, by contentions, and afterwards by petty wars with its bishops, whom the German emperors had made the depositaries of their authority. In the following century, Adalbert king of Italy consented not to go within the walls of Milan, from the chimerical reason, that, since St. Ambrose had driven Theodosius out of the city, no emperor had presumed to enter it. The 12th century affords an abuse of that great example still more strongly marked. Giordano, archbishop of Milan, shut against the very people those doors, within which St. Ambrose had denied admittance to Theodosius: this he did with a view to bring the people to chastise, by fire and sword, the inhabitants of Parma, with whom he was offended. This bold step succeeded, and Parma was sacked with terrible slaughter *(a)*.

Milan stands in the center of an oblong square, inclosed northwards by the Grison mountains; east and westward by the Adda and the Tessin,

(a) Muratori dissertazion.

which come from thoſe mountains, and ſouthward by the Po, into which they run. Perhaps, in the whole univerſe, there is not another city built in the middle of a plain, without river or ſtream for its defence or convenience. So very ſingular a ſituation, I am apt to think, muſt have been owing to this, that the inhabitants of this plain being driven from their dwellings, by an enemy who was maſter both of the mountains and of the three rivers bordering on the plain, met about its center, where they threw up a kind of fortification for their defence, and this intercourſe brought them to prefer a ſocial life to the ſolitude of their lonely habitations.

Art and induſtry, however, have in time procured to Milan thoſe advantages, of which its founders could not entertain a thought. Two navigable canals, one from the Adda, the other from the Teſſin, join it to thoſe rivers, and afford it all the advantages which can accrue to a great city from a river, without feeling any of the inconveniencies. Some Milaneze gentlemen have aſſured me, that thoſe canals were the work of the French, under Lewis XII. and Francis I. Now this ſeems the more ſtrange, it not being till very long after, that the French ever thought of ſuch undertakings for themſelves in their own country: they, probably, contrived the Marthefana and the Theſinina, as M. Guillaume contrived the colours of his cloths; that is, jointly along with his dyer. At leaſt, it is certain, that the plan and execution of the Adda canal, or the Marthefana, are owing to the celebrated Leonardo

de

de Vinci, who knew ſomething beyond ſketching and blending colours. An enterprize of this nature, executed under the auſpices of France, and in a conquered country, is a ſtanding proof; 1ſt. That the French were not always ſuch deſtroyers as the Italians conceive; 2dly. That France, with ſome Leonardos de Vinci, would not have been ſo late in forming great ſchemes for itſelf.

Next to its ſituation the moſt wonderful curioſity in Milan, is its dome or cathedral, very near as large as St. Peter's at Rome. It is mentioned by all travellers, who ſay, and a long time will it be ſaid, that though it has been near four hundred years a building, it is not yet finiſhed. Martial's epigram ſeems made for this edifice.

Eutrapelus tonſor dum circuit ora Luperci,
Expungitque genas, altera barba ſubit.

Several parts are in a ruinous condition, whilſt others are only in hand. Till the portal ſhall be thought on, the principal works carried on are immenſe; ſuch as open pyramids far ſurmounting every buttreſs; images, of which, within and without, this church has already ſome thouſands; with little genii and decorations in paſſages by which all the upper parts communicate: theſe decorations are as highly finiſhed as the moſt curious pieces of gold ſmiths work, and which it is matter of no ſmall ſurpriſe to find in ſuch a place. On being farther told that every part of this edifice is of the fineſt Carrara marble, the wonder ceaſes that more has been expended on it, though far from being finiſhed, than brought St. Peter's at Rome to its preſent ſplendor. In a word, this building, to

which ancient and modern, profane and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory does not afford a parallel, is like a giant with a ſuit of cloaths all over laced with the moſt brilliant gold orris, and his fingers covered with diamond rings and the fineſt gems, but without a pair of breeches or ſhoes; and thus will it remain till ſome ſovereign ſhall take into his own hands the funds left for this work, and cauſe it to be ſpeedily finiſhed. And this, it ſeems, count Chriſtiani had very ſeriouſly thought of a little before his death.

Milan, with the pope, might rival Rome for the title of holy, which the latter aſſumes. There is no end of its churches, monaſteries, ſeminaries, penitential chapels, colleges, brotherhoods, ſchools of all ſorts and all colours. Here is annually ſold a devotional almanack, merely for ſhewing the daily ſtations, benedictions of the hoſt, octaves and indulgencies within Milan; half of it, at leaſt, being taken up with buildings, or houſes appertaining to religion. The Ambroſian monks, though already poſſeſſed of a vaſt houſe built by Bramante, have within this century built another, fully equal to the former in largeneſs and magnificence, and of which ſcarce one third part is made uſe of; and, under the pretence that the latter does not ſtand in a good air, they are about a third, which will eclipſe the two others. The Jeſuits have five houſes *(a)* in a gradation of ſumptuouſ-

(a) Their immenſe and ſuperb college of La Brera, was the very houſe of thoſe Umiliati, who diſliking S. Charles aſſaſſinated him. *Of all the world you was the man, who ought to have buried the great Corneille*, ſaid a gentleman to Racine, by way of conſolation, that the lot had

ſumptuouſneſs. The other religious orders diſplay the ſame luxury, in proportion to their riches, eſteem, and dexterity; ſo that were the number and magnificence of churches ſure ſigns of the opulence of a city, Milan would not only be one of the largeſt, but likewiſe one of the richeſt cities in Europe.

It is a pity that the Benedictins of St. Maur and St. Vanne, who for fourſcore years paſt have incumbered France with maſſes of ſtone, from which poſterity can entertain but a very indifferent idea of the delicacy and airineſs of the French taſte in the 18th century; I ſay, it is a pity that theſe monks ſo fond of building did not come to Milan for ſome plans, which would have prevented the awkward heavineſs ſo diſguſtful in all their ſtructures. St. Charles would have furniſhed them with models which they might have followed, without wronging either their taſte or their love of regularity. All the beauty and grandeur of architecture ſhine forth in the diſtributions, back-ſtairs, conveniencies, and the ſeveral particulars requiſite in religious houſes. Mela and Pelegrini, that great prelate's architects, worked for him, as if working for the moſt diſcerning and moſt difficult of men: yet according to the Milaneze tradition, he never ſaw the ſtructures he was raiſing. Abſorbed in the objects of their deſtination, when he did ſhew himſelf in the workſhops, it was only to encourage the workmen by his preſence and

had fallen on another academician, to be the orator at the celebration of the obſequies of P. Corneille by the French academy. *N. N. de la R. P. des Lettr.* 1686.

gratuities; he is ſaid never to have raiſed an eye to look on the work.

Milan owes its principal embelliſhments to this prelate's foundations, and thoſe of his nephew cardinal Frederic Borromeo. The city abounds with monuments of their ſolid piety, their tender compaſſion for the ſufferings of human nature, and their love of literature and the arts. In all theſe reſpects it may be ſaid, *Borromeorum omnia plena.* It does little honour to the ſucceſſors of thoſe reſpecable prelates, that the firſt court of the great ſeminary, and the Helvetic college, lie yet unfiniſhed.

The taſte for public edifices, which, among the Romans, was termed *Publica Magnificentia*, and the contrary to which was *privata luxuries*, ſhews itſelf at Milan, even among the common claſs. A merchant of the name of Cottoni, has, at his own expence, built the court of the great hoſpital with a royal magnificence. A croſs way near the Pozzo inn where we quartered, had been cramped by a houſe projecting on it, and which at the ſame time hiding three ſtreets, occaſioned much miſchief to be done thereabout, ſo that it had been nicknamed *Mal-cantone*, the bad corner. This houſe another merchant, called *Maranzani*, who had a family, purchaſed, to have it pulled down for the public ſafety and conveniency. From the ſame generous principle he has rebuilt the *Ponte de Fabri*, yet his houſe was not in the neighbourhood, either of the Mal-cantone, or of the Ponte de Fabri.

Annone, another of the ſame claſs, has lately built at his own expence the Nuovi Sepolchri, the ſingular plan of which ſtands juſtified by the great

great effect of the proportions. It is a public burial-ground a little without Milan; the form is oval, and in the middle is a very pretty chapel intirely insulated; along the inside of the wall which incloses the oval, runs a wide covered portico, terminated by a balustrade. Under this portico is a train of large vaults which are filling successively, as they are emptied. To every intercolumniation answers a window in the wall, and all with prospects, the sightly variety of which must divert the thoughts of death, which many resort hither purely to indulge. The worship paid by the Italians to the souls in purgatory, has made this burial place a place of devotion extremely frequented. This sepulchre, or rather this rich mausoleum, is not unlike the theatres of antiquity, by what remains we have of them; and when the injuries of time shall have reduced it to the same condition, this resemblance will probably lead many an antiquarian into a mistake. In the mean time, on a revolution, it might serve for a citadel, which has often been the case of ancient theatres, and hastened their destruction. A set of resolute men throwing themselves into it, with provisions and ammunition, might maintain their ground, and give the opposite party no small trouble: which perhaps did not occur when this situation was appointed for the edifice. I forgot mentioning that both Annone, its founder, and Cottoni, who built the court of the great hospital, had no children.

All the books of travels to Italy are very particular concerning the Ambrosian library and its collection of paintings and statues. Before I was admitted

into this collection, the keeper roundly asked me, how much I thought of giving him; *per la buona Mancia, viz.* as a gratuity *(a)*. To divert myself with his selfish frankness, I haggled for some time, till at length, we agreed; but he would have the money beforehand, and he had it.

As God has denied me the talent which he has bestowed on all Parisians, whom I have seen hold forth on the merit and faults of paintings, without any other reason for their decisions, than some illumination from above: I am, in this respect, like all the ignorant, who are more taken with the expression in master-pieces of painting and sculpture, than all the other circumstances. Thus I was particularly affected with a painting, where a virgin almost as big as life is kneeling, viewing her son just born: pain, joy, compassion, tenderness, respect and veneration are blended in the attitude, and figure of the virgin, to whom the painter has chosen to give a physiognomy somewhat discomposed; yet on which all those emotions are displayed prefer-

(a) In Lombardy it is pronounced *Manza*; and is commonly derived from *buona mano*, which is merely synonimous to it; Muratori brings it from *Amanza*, good-will, gallantry. A very old Italian poet, Frà Jacopone di Todi, has used it in that sense.

Non è verace acquisto,
Di Manza *che non dura:*
Ma chi ben ama Christo
Sopra d'ogn' altra cura,
Quella è Amanza *sicura.*

And afterwards,

Di te, bella Manza,
Jesu venga Manza.

ably

ably to compoſed graces or dignity, as not ſuited to ſo great a variety of expreſſions. The artiſt died young, and I am told he has left but few performances; I believe it is Schidone: here are alſo ſome paintings of Titian de Vinci, de Brugel and Procacino; it is indeed a very noble collection; but I was ever returning to my virgin, and amidſt all theſe treaſures, I ſaw nothing ſo ſtriking. A holy family of Raphael, which I ſince ſaw in the Sacriſty of St. Celſus, taught me that beauty and majeſty are not incompatible with expreſſion; but then, *quando ullum artes invenient parem?* I dont know in what part of Leonardo de Vinci's laſt ſupper, in the refectory of the Dominicans, Addiſon found ſix fingers on the hand of a principal figure; it was more than I could find with all my looking. This to be ſure is a beautiful picture, but of a maſculine, bold, and grave beauty, which one can ſcarce become accuſtomed to in France.

In a nunnery near St. Celſus, a very fine ſtructure, where only daughters of the firſt families in Milan are admitted to take the veil, I went to ſee the church when it happened to be ſhut. On this I made my way to the parlour, and begged the favour that my curioſity might be gratified. The lady who officiated as porter, very obligingly delivered me the keys, at the ſame time giving me to underſtand, that by my appearance and manner of ſpeaking Italian, ſhe took me for a Frenchman. After a leiſurely ſurvey of all the beauties in the church, I returned the keys at the parlour, where I was ſuddenly ſurrounded with a crowd of nuns, all eagerly

ſpeaking

ſpeaking at once, aſking that I would ſatisfy them about the news come to Milan, by the laſt poſt from Rome. This news was that cardinal Carvalchini, when, on the very point of being choſen pope, had been excluded by France. Do but ſee, exclaimed all theſe good ladies, filled with a holy rage, a fine thing indeed! for the king of France to hinder the operation of the Holy Ghoſt! When this ſtorm of tongues had ſomewhat ſubſided, that I could be heard, I offered to demonſtrate to this tumultuous groupe, that the king of France, ſo far from thwarting that operation, ſeconded it. This little agreeing with the impreſſions which their directors had left on them, they defied me to prove it, which I did by this argument. It is laid down from all eternity, that ſuch a cardinal ſhall ſucceed Benedict XIV. in St. Peter's chair. If this cardinal be not Cavalchini, which we ſhall ſoon know, the intentions of the ſacred college for Cavalchini, are an obſtacle to the election of him who is appointed in the divine decrees, and conſequently to the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, who will conduct the election, according to that appointment: ſo ladies, France, in excluding Cavalchini, removes that obſtacle and ſeconds the Holy Ghoſt's operation. But, cried they, ſhould Cavalchini be the Holy Ghoſts's cardinal? why then, ladies, replied I, you may be as eaſy as myſelf: Cavalchini will certainly be pope; the Holy Ghoſt will come to compromiſe with France about his election. By this time the refreſhments were brought in, and really the ladies had more need of them than I; however, we parted good friends,

friends, they, full of the Holy Ghoſt's operation being hindered by France, and determined to have my reaſoning cleared up to them. And, for my part, I gave myſelf no farther concern about it.

I was preſented to the celebrated counteſs Clelia Boromeo, by count Viſconti, an amiable and learned young nobleman, to whom father Girdel had recommended me. Here I ſaw the counteſs of Archinta, ſiſter-in-law to the cardinal of that name, whom France, at that time, had in its eye for Pope, and who ſince met with his death in the very cauſe by which he had miſſed of the popedom. I ſaw, at times, all the quality of Milan, the counteſs of Boromeo's being their rendezvous. This lady, beſides all the virtues of her family, has acquired a knowledge above her ſex; ſhe has carried her ſcientifical acquiſitions to the moſt ſublime parts of geometry. Her converſation was the more entertaining and wonderful to me, as I had ſpent the laſt three years in France. The palace ſhe lives in is the patrimonial manſion of the Boromeos, and its ſtateline ſ anſwers to the name. She had given up a ground-floor apartment to the young people of her neighbourhood, and fitted it up for a theatre, where they had formed themſelves into a company of actors. One of the plays, at which I was preſent, highly entertained me, and confirmed what I had heard of the comic talents, being, as it were, innate to the Italians. The lady of the houſe was never ſeen at theſe entertainments, as perſons of character, in Italy, very ſeldom are.

Count

Count Clerici's palace makes a very diſtinguiſhed figure, both by the diſpoſition of the apartments and the richneſs and taſte of the furniture. One circumſtance which pleaſed me much was, the owner having in his bed-chamber, inſtead of hangings, the pictures of all the officers of the regiment of which he is colonel in the ſervice of the empreſs queen.

The palace of count Pertuſati, a field marſhal in the ſame ſervice, is noticed for another kind of merit; a library which may figure with the Ambroſian, of his own forming and very elegantly placed.

Count Trivulcio, an eccleſiaſtic, has made a very conſiderable collection of ſeals and dyptics; this laſt ſpecies of antiques bas been brought into vogue in Italy, by cardinal Querini, and is in the higheſt eſteem. Abbé Bartholi, keeper to the royal library at Turin, had made me a preſent of a diſſertation written by himſelf on a monument of this kind, in ſupport of its antiquity againſt marquis Maffei. It conſiſts of eighty quarto pages very cloſely printed, and at the end is a beautiful cut of the monument on which the diſſertation was written; and what heightens the curioſity, is this ſame dyptic having been no more than a porto-folio for love letters.

Signora Agneſe, ſo famous in the literary world for her acquaintance with the learned languages, and a very profound treatiſe on analyſis, in conſideration of which, beſides panegyrics from all learned bodies, a profeſſorſhip of mathematics has been conferred on her, in the univerſity of Bologna, is daughter to a creditable tradeſman of Milan;

Milan. But neither her ſtudies, her labours, her ſucceſſes, nor the inſtances of her father have been able to get the better of the call which ſhe felt in herſelf to be a blue-coat-nun, and this order is one of the moſt auſtere. Since the death of her father, ſhe has has given into the moſt myſtic devotion, and has made a ſacrifice to chriſtian humility of all the enjoyments and honours, which her acquaintance and her talents offered her in the world.

I was preſent at an univerſity theſis on phyſics, held in the ſplendid church of the Barnabites. The reſpondent, a young Milaneze nobleman, encountered the whole aſſembly for the ſpace of three hours, without preſident or prompter. A very ſpirited debate aroſe on the origin of ſprings, which the reſpondent attributed to rains. One of the arguments produced againſt this hypotheſis, I remember was taken from this paſſage in Geneſis: *It had not yet rained on the earth, and the fountains of the deep were broken up.*

The taſte for ſolid ſtudies makes great progreſs in Italy. At every hour of the day, I have found the public and private libraries full of perſons reading and making extracts. Many and very ſucceſsfully cultivate the more abſtruſe ſciences. The firſt fruit of their ſtudies, and of their acquaintance with the maſter-pieces with which literature has been enriched by the age of Lewis XIV. is to be poſſeſſed with the notion which many French entertain of the Engliſh, fancying that a Frenchman knows every thing. By my French air, they were pleaſed to think ſo of me, and I, for the honour of the likeneſs,

neſs, when things were put to me above my abilities, anſwered by ſigns and geſtures, like the Engliſhman in Rabelais. This part is acted to the greater advantage, if not over all Italy, at leaſt in Lombardy, as the prepoſeſſion in favour of France is carried ſo far, as to conceive even of the French petit-maitres, that the very reaſon of their giving no anſwer to any thing, is becauſe they know every thing.

The Ambroſian library founded by cardinal Frederic Boromeo is the largeſt, the fineſt, and the moſt valuable foundation, which, I do not ſay any private perſon, but even any ſovereign, ever planned and executed in favour of the arts and ſciences ſince the revival of them in Europe. It is the Alexandrian muſeum. To this library the noble founder has annexed a congregation of ſecular prieſts, with the title of the Ambroſian college: the printed hiſtory of this foundation has ſpread the knowledge of it all over the world. Within this century, a ſociety of noblemen at Milan, under the denomination of *Socii Palatini*, contributes to the charge of a conſiderable printing-houſe, which has already produced ſome very valuable works, particularly the learned Muratori's collections.

In the Milaneſe territories, juſtice is adminiſtered by the Roman law with ſome modification of cuſtoms and ſtatutes. Moſt of theſe ſtatutes are of the good king Lewis XII. whoſe name they accordingly bear. Theſe ſtatutes, in ſucceſſions, petitions, diſpoſals of fathers to their children, have eſtabliſhed the law of equality, which the nobility itſelf can elude only by entails, or the acquiſition

acquiſition of lands in countries where this law is not in force. For ſome time paſt endeavours have been uſed for a general reviſal of theſe laws, in order to form a code, which, diſpoſing them together, according to their reſpective objects, ſhould explain the one by the other, and ſettle their uſe and authority. To the misfortune of mankind, projects of this kind are ſeldom carried into execution. This was certainly quaſhed by the untimely death of count Chriſtiani; who, to the extreme loſs of the ſtate, departed this life on the 10th of July 1758, the very day of our arrival at Milan, and is well worthy of more particular mention.

He was a miller's ſon of the duchy of Placentia, and from clerk to an attorney was made judge of a village; in which quality having ſome concerns of the peaſants of his diſtrict to lay before M. Trotti, preſident of the council at Milan to the emperor Charles VI. this miniſter perceived in him a knowledge and talents above his rank, and placed him in one of his offices. Some time after he was employed in negociations; and in this department he diſplayed abilities, which the houſe of Auſtria made good uſe of in ſeveral European courts. On the peace, the empreſs queen ſet him at the head of the adminiſtration of her hereditary dominions in Italy, with the title of chancellor. While the Milaneſe honoured his talents for adminiſtration, their only exception againſt him was his countenancing the officers of the revenue, with a partiality which they accounted ſelfiſh; whereas, conſidering his employments, his equipage, which was far from being ſplendid, and the oeconomy

nomy in every part of his houſhold, he died far from being rich. He met death with all the compoſure for which he was remarkable in negociations. In the latter days of his life he received a long letter from his ſovereign, all written with her own hand, deſiring him to mind only the recovery of his health, to forbear all buſineſs, and preſerve himſelf for herſelf and the ſtate. "I could," they are are the empreſs's very words, "I could "be eaſier under the loſs of half an army, than "of ſuch a miniſter as you. Do not trouble "yourſelf about your children; in me they have "a mother filled with all the ſentiments for "them, which they can expect from the fondeſt "father; and I will do more for them than ſuch "a father could deſire." He has left three, the eldeſt of whom, an eccleſiaſtic, is already poſſeſſed of benefices to the amount of above thirty thouſand crowns. Count Chriſtiani was not very happy in a phyſiognomy. Like Cæſar, he could dictate to four clerks at the ſame time; he eat a great deal, was continually at work, and all he allowed to ſleep was only the ſhort intervals between buſineſs. A total corruption of the maſs of blood put an end to his glorious career. No body was better acquainted with the conſtitution, defects, and reſources of the ſtate which had been committed to his adminiſtration, and he was beginning to make the people happy: their eſteem was mingled with ſo much awe as not to dare betray the leaſt contempt of him on account of his birth, and they have ſincerely lamented his death. Their grief might partly ariſe from an apprehenſion that count Chriſtiani, would be ſucceeded by ſome haughty, over-

overbearing, ſevere German. This, indeed, is pretty much the behaviour of that nation towards the inhabitants of the hereditary countries in Italy, treating them as the Romans did all other people, as men of a lower ſpecies. The Milaneſe ſtoop too much to theſe arrogant notions, it being no uncommon thing for them to marry a German woman, though Germany has never been known to vouchſafe them the honour of taking a wife, even out of the firſt families of Milan.

Since Milan has been governed only by a ſecondary authority, juſtice has loſt much of that vigour, which the ſovereign's preſence generally ſecures to it. Deſpair, and often an impoſſibility of obtaining it, puts people on doing themſelves juſtice. The magiſtrate winks at the effects of private vengeance, and confines his care to the prohibiting ſtiletto's and pocket piſtols. The diſpatch and impartiality of juſtice in France and the northern ſtates, removes all apprehenſions from ſuch weapons, which, in any country where juſtice ſhould become venal, tedious or too expenſive, would be as common as in Italy. Take away the law, and men relapſe into the ſtate of nature, in which violence redreſſes violence. A ſhadow of juſtice may perhaps hinder the immediate application of the remedy, but it will not hinder the effects of revenge, and this being long ſuſpended and meditated, will be the more cruel and unavoidable (*a*). Experience has long ſince taught the Northern nations,

(*a*) *Nihil in civitate tam diligenter, quam jus, retinendum eſt: quo ſublato, nihil eſt quod æquabile inter omnes eſſe poſſit.* Cic. pro Cæcinnâ.

that the laws are the ſtrongeſt band of ſociety: ſo intimately were they perſuaded of this truth, that even in thoſe times when every thing ſeemed to be determined by the ſword; one of the moſt ſacred oaths taken by their kings was to do juſtice rightly and ſpeedily. Their laws relating to duels were exceptions to the general inſtitutions, and thoſe laws have been wrongly judged of, having been judged of from the exceptions.

Till juſtice could have recovered that force, of which count Chriſtian intended the reſtoration, by the code he was drawing up; and till that code ſhould cut up the very roots of private revenge, he checked its ſanguinary effects, by the moſt ſtrict and ſevere execution of the laws againſt carrying weapons: any one apprehended with a prohibited weapon, being carried before him, was baſtonaded without mercy, caſt into a dungeon for two or three days, with allowance only of bread and water, and for his diſcharge paid a heavy fine. Such a procedure, which indeed had ſomething of the Turkiſh in it, could not fail of making a ſtrong impreſſion on the people; but it did not root out the cauſe of the evil, which, on the chancellor's deceaſe, may be ſuppoſed to have taken its former courſe.

I have not been able to come at an exact account, how the finances are managed in the Italian hereditary dominions of Auſtria; all I could learn is, that the ſubſtance of the Spaniſh adminiſtration ſtill takes place there, and that the court of Vienna, ſince its alliance with France, draws annually from theſe ſtates not leſs than between eight or nine millions in ſpecie. The conſequence of ſuch exactions is a diminution both of the

the trade and inhabitants of Milan; and such a diminution, that in 1758, two complete apartments, with stables, coach-house, cellar, and kitchen, and in a house with a court yard before it, in the very heart of the city, and one of the finest parts, were let at only four hundred French livres a year. So lately as the last century, Milan contained three hundred thousand inhabitants, and now the highest computation is 80,000. If the Milanese mourn over their present condition, they shudder at the prospect of what is to come, of the total ruin expected from an alliance, which, depriving them both of the sums spent by the German's garrisons there, and brought among them from time to time by the wars, leaves them, without any resource but industry; and for this to be duly employed, there must be a plentiful circulation of money. In a word, they dolefully compare their present situation, with that of their ancestors, under the first French and Austrian viceroys, the Trivulces, the Duguasts, the Gonzagues, the Pescaras, who amidst a brilliant court, and for grandeur and magnificence emulating all the sovereigns, among whom Italy was at that time divided, inriched Milan, and enabled it to furnish much larger subsidies than it pays at present, and which were scarce felt. The inference from this comparison seems to be, that a state in which the sovereign does not reside, must be like a farm, the produce of which is always in proportion to the proprietor's expences in keeping buildings in repair, or in improvements of any kind, and to the farmer's circumstances. Herein, as in a thousand

other reſpects, it is the ſame with political as with domeſtic œconomy.

The fair ſex both of the higheſt and loweſt rank at Milan are but very indifferent in their perſons, whereas the middle or trading claſs affords a great many very pretty women; in dreſs and gallantry they come very near the faſhions and gallantry of Paris, indeed much nearer than in many ſubſtantial places in France. Milan is the firſt and laſt town where the women have the free carriage, the air and manners of France: *Altera fundi illius calamitas.* Every where elſe you meet with only antiquated faſhions, an unmeaning countenance, and ſuch a gait as muſt neceſſarily reſult from poking the head forward and throwing the elbows backward, where they remain fixed, as if a ſtick had been driven through the joint of both arms. At a play, you ſee all the gay world, and to the greater advantage, as during the play the ladies receive viſits: for this purpoſe their boxes are illuminated, and ſet off with looking glaſſes, couches on every ſide, and ſuitable hangings; theſe boxes, which are hired by the year, may be cloſe ſhut in the front, and very often only a ſmall part of them is open, that the play may the leſs diſturb the converſation.

Some imagine they again meet with French gaiety at Milan; nothing like it; it is incompatible with that Spaniſh ceremonial which Milan ſtill retains: there is more ſociableneſs here than in other parts of Italy, but this goes no farther than formal feaſts on great occaſions, and all the ſumptuouſneſs of them does not create feſtivity.

This is not the only relick of Spaniſh ſovereignty: whether from policy, or the ſole force of example,

ample, the Spaniards alienated the firſt houſes of Milan from commerce; whereas till the eſtabliſhment of the Auſtrian dominion here, they had united it with nobility. This revolution in ideas ſoon ſpread its contagion, and, in imitation of the great, every citizen, who had got a little money by trade, quitted it, clapped on a ſword and feather, and ſet up for *Hidalgo!* which he might do the better, the names of the principal houſes of Milan being very common among the citizens, and even among the lower claſs. (*a*) I was ſhewn a Viſconti mending ſhoes at the corner of a ſtreet; yet, have not experience and reflection been able to eradicate a prejudice, which has dried up the ſource of public wealth. The very nobility are ſenſible of this, and even wiſh for the revival of the antient ſyſtem: inſignificant wiſhes, whilſt the nobleman looks on the banker and tradeſman as different ſpecies from himſelf, and the tradeſman repines at being only a tradeſman. It was the times of the antient ſyſtem that gave riſe to the Italian ſaying, which tradition has ſtill preſerved: *Chi voleſſe raſſettare Italia, ſi rovina Milano.* To recover Italy, Milan muſt be ruined. The total decay of the trade of this city has long ſince reduced it, beneath the jealous deſigns intimated in this proverb.

Let us, however, caſt an eye on the objects of its preſent trade.

(*a*) The confuſion which this mixture muſt produce in the names of perſons, will not appear ſurpriſing to thoſe who are acquainted with that which adoptions, manumiſſions, patronage and clientſhip had introduced among the Romans. Whether baſtardy came into the account of the latter I know not.

I. Raw ſilks. Milan is to this day the centre of a commerce requiring large capitals, and which ſome of the wealthieſt houſes have engroſſed as a clandeſtine company; a monopoly no leſs diſadvantageous to the buyers, than ruinous to the very eſſence of the commerce. The company foreſtals the ſilk from cottage to cottage at the time of the crop, and ſometimes even before. No ſooner is the crop over, than it contracts for the Bergamo and Verona ſilk, and that of all the towns near the Milaneſe, with other monopolizers, who bring them to theſe places, and without running the riſk of any thing that may happen, forward them to Milan, in which their profit is both quick and conſiderable. When the company have got their ſeveral ſilks lodged in their warehouſes, they ſend word to England and France that the crop has failed or run but very low, and ſet the price on ſilks accordingly. Private houſes, carrying on the ſame trade, independantly of the company, finding it for their advantage to come into that price, uſually do ſo. But if at any time foregoing a preſent greater gain, in hopes of increaſing their trade, they offer and ſend away their ſilk at a lower price, the company have this way to bring them into order again. Whatever the expectations of the following crop may be, they give out that it will be very plentiful, and of courſe they lower the price of ſilks. If the crop turns out ſcanty, or even totally fails, yet the price of the ſilks remains as it was, and thus the rival houſes bring themſelves into diſcredit, by ſelling at a higher price; and if they fall to the company's price, they muſt ruin themſelves. Then the company,

company, not being able to make good their engagements, and willing to leſſen their loſſes by leſſening their ſales, have another expedient to bring themſelves off. They write to the Engliſh that the French have been too quick for them, and to the French make the ſame complaint of the Engliſh; in the mean time, the manufactures of both nations are at a ſtand for want of materials: hence a ſudden revolution in their commerce, equally hurtful, both to the merchant who relied on the manufacturer's engagements, and to the manufacturer who had governed himſelf by the advices from Milan.

This monopoly preys on the ſilk trade in its very ſource. The Milan houſes, though in no connection with the company, are, by the above meaſures and artifices, made to depend on it, and, being often under a neceſſity of diſpoſing of the materials to it, or circumvented in the regular ſale of them by thoſe artificers, they grow tired of a trade which muſt be carried on, as it were, ſword in hand. All competition being thus quaſhed and ruined, and the ſilk-cultivator now obliged to accept of what price the buyers fix, turns to more profitable objects that induſtry, of which the ſole ſupport and encouragement is the hope of gain: inſtead of new plantations and new improvements in that kind, the old are neglected and run to ruin. In a word, the cultivation of ſilk in Lombardy now labours under the ſame difficulties which ruined it in Romania. The cultivators in this part of Italy, whoſe chief fund of wealth has a long time conſiſted in ſilk, wearied out by the monoply ſet up at Milan and Venice, and cruſhed by the duties on the importation of

foreign ſilks into thoſe two ſtates, have given up the cultivation of mulberry-trees; and what little ſilk thoſe which remain yield, the Engliſh, out of mere good-will, take off the hands of the people of Romania, who, having no other vent for their goods, part with them as people driven to their laſt ſhifts.

The chief of the Milan manufactures are gold and ſilver laces, embroideries in gold and ſilver, tinſel and thread laces: theſe are chiefly kept up by Italian ſobriety, the low price of proviſions, and, its conſequence, the low price of work.

The baſis of the gold lace manufacture was originally the Peru piſtoles, plentifully brought into the Milaneſe by the Spaniards; and this manufacture was the more conſiderable, as the Italians uſe a great deal of lace for the ornaments and hangings of churches and the furniture of palaces. Lyons, from only ſharing in this manufacture, is upon engroſſing it, ſince, by the ſcarcity of gold at Milan, the manufacture has begun to be reduced to tinſel.

Its embroideries, *(a)* the taſte and delicacy of which are admirable, deſerve to be better known in France: the people of Lyons might introduce them with the greater advantage, as at Milan they turn to very good account.

This city vends a prodigious quantity of ſilk-handkerchiefs excellently manufactured, and by the Italians accounted an approved amulet againſt ſore throats, which, from the moiſtneſs of the air,

(a) This art is of a very long ſtanding at Milan. See Brantome, *paſſim*.

are

are very common in Lombardy and Romania: theſe handkerchiefs are a part of the deſhabille of the princes and noblemen; but the trading or lower people are never without them at home or abroad. In the ſummer time they have them waving on their ſhoulders, and uſe them to wipe the ſweat from their faces; but in the morning and evening they take them in, and tie them very cloſe and carefully round their necks.

Milan being by its ſituation the natural ſtaple of Swiſſerland, part of Germany, France, and Italy, the diſtribution of all the goods to be conveyed from one of theſe countries into another, makes the capital or ſecondary buſineſs of ſeveral houſes; and by duties, warehouſe charges, and bargains for ladings, leaves no ſmall ſums at Milan: in theſe bargains the brokers take care to get a feeling, both from their principals and the carriers. All goods going from Italy into France or Swiſſerland are carried on mules, and what is ſent from Milan into the inward parts of Italy goes by water. The moſt valuable goods, or thoſe which are to be delivered with the moſt expedition, are carried behind the chaiſes or cambiaturas: theſe carriages are of ſuch a conſtruction, and hung ſo, that they carry a great deal behind, without any inconveniency to the horſes. The waggoners who ſwarm on the great roads in France, in Italy are employed only for carrying the effects and baggage of a governor, coming to or going from his province, of a legate in his way to or returning from his legation, or of cardinals who are haſtening to Rome on the opening of a conclave. The many charges attending any kind of tranſportation, conſtitutes the riches of the Milan

lan brokers, and their intereſt is the only thing that hinders the ſetting up of waggons in Italy. The danger of the roads from robbers is a mere pretence; why ſhould roads be more dangerous for five or ſix waggoners going together, than for two or three chaiſes?

Another kind of trade accruing from neceſſity, Milan owes to its being ſituated at the foot of the Alps. The Swiſs and French, or they who are going into Italy through Swiſſerland or France, either on buſineſs or out of mere curioſity, proceed as far as Milan by the Vetturini, and here they provide themſelves with an equipage ſuitable to their rank, or the figure they propoſe to make. Young prince Schwalof going from France into Italy, ſold carriages at Lyons for 12 or 15,000 livres, which at Paris had coſt him 25 or 30,000, and at Milan he furniſhed himſelf again to the like amount: were all travellers as rich as Ruſſian princes, the furniſhing them with carriages would make Milan alive again; yet this city lays the generality of travellers, even the moſt cautious, more or leſs under contribution; they are told that only croſſing the Alps ruins a carriage; that the French poſt chaiſes, either in winter or ſummer, will not do for the roads in Italy; and that they require a chaiſe ſo contrived as to be taken to pieces, and put together in the twinkling of an eye, and by any hands; now the Milan carriages, beſides thoſe conveniencies, are both light and ſtrong, the wood and the leather of a good quality, together with the advantage of carrying a great deal without overloading the horſes.

Another

Another branch of the Milan trade which France has not, but which it need not envy, is the produce of the rice grounds in the Milaneſe. The rice grows in fields all under water, which riſes with the plant, ſo that during the whole time of its growth, only the top appears above water. The numberleſs canals which interſect Lombardy, induce the landed men to this culture, which indeed has been carried ſo far, that all the Milaneſe is like to become one rice ground, that is, one continual fen; unleſs, as we were told, the government intends ſome limitation be put to this culture; experience having made known to it the noxious effects of the air of rice grounds; and which are the more noxious and unavoidable, from the vaſt increaſe of thoſe grounds. Even in times when theſe grounds were but thinly ſcattered, the villages which lay north or eaſt of them, were every year viſited with ſome contagious diſeaſe; and the greater part of the peaſants employed in this culture, are carried off by the dropſy before they ſee forty.

Milan was the arſenal, which, in the ſixteenth century, ſupplied Europe with complete fire-arms. Brantome is particular in reciting the obligations of this kind, which France owes to the Milaneſe; and his account is worth notice, for its importance to the military hiſtory of France.

"If the lord admiral, ſays Brantome, has "gained ſuch high reputation by his excellent "regulations for the infantry, and bringing it to "ſuch a diſcipline, M. Strozzi deſerves no ſmall "praiſe, as it was he who introduced the advan-"tageous way of arming it, and both the make

"and

" and uſe of the fine arquebuſes of the preſent " bore. M. d'Andelot indeed made them a lit- " tle known, when diſcharged out of the caſtle of " Milan, where he had learned them from the " Spaniards. For there is no veteran who will not " ſay that our muſquetry formerly was nothing like " what it has been ſince; being only little paltry " barrels, mounted in the Lucca manner, as it " was called, that is, in the ſhape of a ſhoulder " of mutton; and the flaſk, which then bore that " ſame name, was ſuitable or rather worſe, being " of boiled leather, horn, or any ſorry ſtuff. After- " wards in Piedmont they took up with Pignerol " barrels which were forged there; theſe were " a little better tempered, but very long and " thinniſh, yet, conſidering the times, were good.

" Afterwards they were uſed as fowling-pieces " on account of their good qualities. Their flaſks, " as before, were good for little. The match for " the arquebuſe the ſoldier wore twined round his " arm, holding the end of it in his hand, the " more readily to clap it to the match-lock. The " Turkiſh janiſſaries have not yet left off that " cuſtom, carrying their match ſtill in that man- " ner; and thus it cannot be ſo readily put to " the pan, as in our preſent way.

" Afterwards, the Piedmonteſe, by degrees " furniſhed themſelves with Milan barrels, which " they uſed to get partly by advantages in war, " and by depredations on the Spaniards; for very " ſmall was the quantity they could procure by " the Milaneſe commerce, that of arms being " prohibited.

" About

" About this time it was that M. d'Andelot came " from Milan, and in conſequence of the truce, " as I have heard him ſay, was allowed to bring " away three hundred barrels and as many powder " flaſks; but the barrels were ſmall, not well tem- " pered, and the charges in the powder flaſk very " indifferent.

" Afterwards they were gradually carried into " France, and the captains were ordered to fur- " niſh their ſeveral companies with as many as " they could; but the trade not affording ſo many " as to make any great figure, they were obliged " to make ſhift with Metz and Abbeville barrels " and Blangy flaſks: both theſe however came " very ſhort of the Milan make. I very well re- " member that in the former wars, the new raiſed " companies were at firſt very poorly armed; " and happy the captain who could boaſt of hav- " ing twenty or thirty Milan arquebuſes and flaſks " in his company; but things came to be on a " better footing, and quantities were imported, " thanks to the care of the duke de Guiſe, an " officer, who had an eye to every thing.

" M. d'Andelot's old companies, and even the " colonel's companies were well furniſhed with " them, ſo that one of them being at Rouen, and " making ſeveral very briſk fires on us, our men " ſaid, *ſee what good powder the ſcoundrels have,* " *and ours is good for nothing.*

" M. de Guiſe, one day, was telling this to a " certain great man, whom I knew, and which put " the other to the bluſh. Don't you ſee, ſaid he, " that it is not ſo much their good powder, but " the large cartridges in their flaſks, and their " ſtout arquebuſes, of d'Andelot's providing,

" which

" which they are not afraid of loading double?
" And if our ſoldiers are not ſo well armed
" now, they ſhall ſoon be. And there, ſays he,
" my friend, lies the myſtery of their good
" powder.

" Now M. Strozzi, who, from his youth, had
" preferred the arquebuſe to any other arms;
" and eſpecially the Milan match-lock arquebuſes,
" when he got a company in thoſe former wars,
" ſpared nothing to have Milan arms, and had a ſuf-
" ficient quantity: half his company at leaſt was
" provided with them; and ſo much was thought
" of this, that M. de Guiſe highly praiſed its
" fine appearance. I know what I heard him ſay
" of it, and afterwards when he came to ſucceed
" Charry, he was very preciſe and curious in
" keeping up that appearance.

" Therefore he deſired, if I may not as well ſay
" obliged, all his captains to have no other
" arms than Milan arquebuſes, flaſks, and cor-
" flets: and for this purpoſe he procured a very
" honeſt and ſubſtantial dealer of the name of
" Negrot to come and ſettle at Paris, who,
" on M. Strozzi's word, that he would take
" them all off his hands, procured great quan-
" tities of them in a trice; ſtimulated by this
" firſt profit, he carried on the trade for fifteen
" or ſixteen years, and by it got a fortune of fifty
" thouſand crowns, or rather more.

" All the fault Strozzi found with the ſaid Ne-
" grot, was, that the barrels were not ſo large and
" ſo well tempered as he would have them, though
" he had written letter upon letter, and very ur-
" gently to maſter Gaſpar of Milan, who forged

" them,

" them, and was the beſt gun-ſmith we ever " employed till we went to Malta.

" M. Strozzi had writ to him ſome months " before for two dozen of barrels, with their par- " ticular dimenſions, and that he himſelf would " come and fetch them.

" Our honeſt operator, maſter Gaſpar, plied " his work with ſuch aſſiduity, that when we came " to Milan, M. Strozzi found them all ready, " and ſo much to his liking, that he made pre- " ſents of them to his intimate friends; I came " in for one, and ſtill keep it in my cloſet. " On this, maſter Gaſpar made theſe arquebuſes " his only buſineſs; yet as many as he made, " were all bought up by the other French who " came after us; we being in the van, they " would by no means be out-done by us. I can- " not omit here, that honeſt Gaſpar, when he ſaw " M. Strozzi, could not ſufficiently admire and " love him, and indeed all of us, ſo that he " took down our names, ſaying, that we had " made a man of him for ever.

" This, I know, might as well have been " omitted, but I love to remember and talk of " ſuch things. After this interview maſter Gaſpar " went on making barrels of this large caliber; " but, withal, ſo well bored, filed, and eſpecial- " ly ſmoothed, that there could be no fault found, " and they were never known to burſt. Withal " we cauſed the flaſks to be made handſome, and " the charges at leaſt proportionably great.

" Thus it was that we got the firſt uſe of " thoſe barrels with large bores, ſo that when

" one

" one was discharged, you would have taken " it to have been a volley of muskets, and all " along our march through Italy, where ever we " had occasion to fire them off, the people stood " quite amazed."

Brantome goes on with an account of the obligations, under which France lies to M. Strozzi, and the city of Milan, for bringing arquebuses, muskets, corslets, and morions to such perfection.

In trade and money-matters, the Milanese are still *Lombards* in the sense which the French had put on that name, when the nation, which bears it, used to share with the Jews, in all dealings in money and paper at Paris. Petty gains are an inticement to them which they cannot withstand, not only in great concerns, but in the plain and common acts of friendship. Disinterestedness, to be sure, never has been the capital virtue of trade; yet to gain, one must some times be willing to lose: this the French both know and practise, whereas the Italians seem to be quite strangers to such a maxim. The cause of this difference in thinking and acting, perhaps, may be the great multiplicity of current coins in Italy; as by reason of this multiplicity, one either loses or gains in receiving or laying out any little sum whatever; the specie, which there is an advantage in receiving, being, for that very reason, disadvantageous to expend, and *vice versa*. Thus, among the Italians, all trade is a perpetual stock-jobbing: a jobbing, to which they are trained from their infancy, which to the French is downright plague; and, lastly, borders on sharping.

ſharping, and naturally leads to it. Hence that tacit combination among all the Italians againſt every foreigner: hence that ſecret treaty among them, by the firſt article of which, he who recommends a ſtranger to a tradeſman, as a cuſtomer, is intitled to a fee from the tradeſman. For inſtance, as we were about buying a chaiſe at Milan, we ſpoke to a gentlemen of the law, with whom ſome recommendations had connected us, and who was not wanting in any of the civilities and friendly offices which foreigners meet with in France. Accordingly he took us to a ſadler, who he ſaid was an honeſt man and a good workman: we talked the matter over with him, but the bargain had very near been broken off on account of an odd ſequin, he aſking fifty-one, and I would not comply till I had brought the ſadler to own that the odd ſequin was for the lawyer's recommendation fee.

M. Morelli's familiy, with whom we were very converſant, is an inſtance that God, in the midſt of the general corruption, had reſerved to himſelf one righteous man.

Domus hâc nec purior ulla,
Nec magis his aliena malis.

The maſter of this houſe procured us every conveniency and entertainment in his power; he gave us open credit to the amount of thirty thouſand livres; he loaded us with recommendations to the firſt trading houſes throughout all Italy; he gave us a letter to his brother at Rome, a prelate of diſtinguiſhed eminence; and all this was done with the eaſy courteſy and dignity of a Mont-

martel. Indeed M. Morelli we found, by the particular regard every where ſhewn to his recommendation, and the reception we met at Rome from his brother, is the Montmartel of Milan. Such is the activity and compaſs of M. Morelli's genius, that he has a practical knowledge of banking, trade, and finances in all the ſeveral parts and appurtenances: being in the flower of his age, he makes a rapid progreſs in that career, where the Medici of Milan, the Odeſcalchi and other famous traders of the Milaneſe, ſo very advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the two laſt centuries.

The day before we left Milan, came the news of cardinal Rezzonico's exaltation; inſtantly all Milan claimed kindred with the new pope, every houſe of any conſideration was illuminated, and paid and received compliments.

PLACENTIA.

The duchy of Parma and Placentia fills the center of Lombardy; both its ſituation and fruitfulneſs give it every advantage favourable to population, with proper encouragement of trade, agriculture, and any kind of induſtry; yet is it a deſert in compariſon of the mountains of Genoa, where all thoſe advantages are wanting.

About Placentia we ſaw the ground where the Spaniards and French attempted in 1746 to force the Auſtrians. This ſpot is naturally fortified, being interſected every way by a multitude of canals. It was at no great diſtance from thence

thence *(a)* that 1960 years before, the conſul Sempronius had been defeated by Hannibal, in a place to which this defeat has given the name of *Campo-morto*, which it bears to this day. The Roman general might, with the ſame advantage as the Auſtrians, have continued in his poſt, and received the Carthaginians; but from a blind impetuoſity he quitted the intrenchment which the Trebia formed for him, and marched to an enemy, who knew better than to come to him. Hannibal was maſter of all the country on the left of that river: *Omnem agrum uſque ad Padi ripas populatus erat.*

In Livy's account of this action, we find that after the victory had been decided in favour of the Carthaginians, a body of ten thouſand Romans, breaking through the victorious army, marched directly to Placentia without croſſing the Trebia again. *Decem ferme millia hominum cum aliâ evadere nequiſſent---et cum in caſtra reditus non eſſet, flumine interclufis----Placentiam recto itinere perrexêre (b).* This event raiſes a doubt whether Placentia had the ſame ſituation then as at preſent. Indeed, if at the juncture in queſtion this city ſtood on the Trebia, one might get thither from the field of battle without croſſing the river again: If, as at preſent, it lay about a quarter of a league beyond the Trebia, there was no getting thither, *recto itinere*, but by a

(a) In propinquitate fluminum & paludum. Liv.
* Tit. Lib. 21.

(b) May it not likewiſe be inferred from this very paſſage, that Hannibal had only drawn up the left of his army along the Trebia, though the chevalier Follard makes him to fight with his whole army, having this river in its rear? Polybius agrees with Livy in favour of the firſt poſition.

bridge croſs the river. Now this bridge was an important concern in Hannibal's diſpoſitions, and he being maſter of the ground would not have failed taking poſt on it, or at leaſt covering it by a body of troops, or even by ſome work which would have cut off the retreat of thoſe ten thouſand men, and the remains of the Roman army, *qui paſſim per agros fugâ ſparſi, veſtigia cedentis ſequentes fluminis, Placentiam contendêre.* The unmoleſted retreat of this body manifeſts, beyond all doubt, that the communication with Placentia was abſolutely free and open. It therefore ſeems more natural to ſuppoſe that Placentia, at that time, ſtood on the Trebia, *(a)* than to imagine that Hannibal, after ſuch maſterly ſkill in bringing about the victory, would have neglected a precaution on which the capital fruit of it depended. This problem I have laid before ſome military gentlemen and people of the country: *adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.*

The mentioning the people of the country and the military men, puts me in mind that the former were not yet got over their wonder at the French having lived ſo peaceably and quietly with one another in the campaign of 1746. Not ſo much as a ſword had been drawn; whereas in the former war a duel happened now and then, though not ſo frequent as before. Concerning

(a) We ſhall find hereafter in the article of Modena, that on the rebuilding of this city in the 9th century, its ſituation was changed: as there was the like reaſon, ſo the like method may have been taken with regard to Placentia, which St. Ambroſe reckoned among the *ſemirutarum urbium cadavera.*

this

this, I was told the anſwer of an old lieutenant-colonel, on being aſked the reaſon of this peaceableneſs: how the devil would you have people fight, whoſe ſtomachs and heads are now only full of lemonade? It was added, that in that campaign of 1746, both Spaniards and French ſhewed the keeneſt animoſity, corps to corps, and man to man; that, on many occaſions, the ſervice had ſuffered by this animoſity, which was ſuch, that, once at noon-day, near Hoſpitaletta, a regiment of Spaniſh horſe charged a regiment of French horſe, their camps being ſeparated only by the highway. I was farther told that, the evening before the battle of Placentia, all the churches were crowded with Spaniards, confeſſing and receiving the ſacrament: whereas all the public houſes were full of Frenchmen carouſing, ſwearing and revelling. This occaſioned a queſtion, which of theſe diſpoſitions, ſo very different, ſhewed the moſt bravery. It was a ſaying of Xenophon, that the braveſt warrior and the leaſt afraid of men, is he who moſt fears the gods: to be ſure he would have betted on the Spaniards, who indeed behaved extremely well, and in broad day, marched up to the fire with a compoſed intrepdity along a ſmooth ground, and through the croſs fires of eight or ten batteries.

The city of Placentia was the laſt place of Roman Gaul, *Gallia togata:* its adherence to the Roman republic, and afterwards to the emperors, brought on it many ſevere misfortunes, till after ſtanding a terrible ſiege by Totila, *(a)* in which the inhabitants were reduced to eat human fleſh

(a) Procop. de bell Gothico.

before they would ſurrender, it fell under the dominion of the Goths, from whom it paſſed ſucceſſively to the Lombards, to the kings of Italy of the line of Charlemain, and the ſeveral princes who ſucceeded thoſe kings. At length, with moſt of the Italian cities, it recovered a liberty which involved it in all the evils of anarchy: and theſe were renewed under the dominion of the dukes of Milan, amidſt continual ſtruggles in favour of liberty. It made part of the Italic conqueſts of Lewis XII. and Francis I. Between theſe two conqueſts Julius II. making himſelf maſter of it, had united it to the church's domain. Charles V. and the Venetians having ſince given it to Leo X. Paul III. in 1545, conferred it as a fief on Peter Lewis Farneſe his ſon. It is at preſent held by the infant Don Philip, by virtue of his mother, in whom the illuſtrious name of Farneſe expired.

Independently of the declaration of Jeſus Chriſt, that his kingdom is not of this world, it would not be difficult to juſtify this infeoffment even by the laws of policy. In effect, without prying too narrowly into the ſprings of the papal government, he who has ſeen the deplorable condition of the duchy of Ferrara, muſt be convinced that the nature of that government does not ſuit with an extenſive dominion. It is the intereſt of Venice that has ſecured this duchy of Ferrara to the holy ſee, for this only reaſon that it makes a barrier between that republic and the territories of Lombardy, about which the Ultramontain powers are in continual conteſt. The duchies of Parma and Placentia being in the center of thoſe territories, had the holy ſee retained the ſovereignty of them, it would have been

been at the head of all the wars, which for two centuries paſt have cauſed ſuch variations in the limits of the ſeveral Italic ſtates; ſo that it was, in every reſpect, more advantangeous to the popes to alienate thoſe duchies, with the reſerve of an appearance of dominion, than to perſiſt in retaining the actual ſovereignty of this country without being able to keep it.

Of their inability to keep it they had a ſufficient proof in the inability of Clement XI. to make good the right of reverſion to theſe ſtates, which had been agreed to in favour of the holy ſee, in failure of the male-iſſue in the houſe of Farneſe. After very learned, very profound, and explicit memoirs in behalf of that right, Clement XII. had the mortification to ſee the emperor Charles VI. exerciſe, *pleno jure*, all the rights of ſovereignty in thoſe treaties, which put the infant Don Philip in poſſeſſion of the ſtates of the houſe of Farneſe.

Placentia, by its ſituation, the breadth and regularity of its ſquares and ſtreets, the architecture of palaces and public edifices, the noble paintings and ſculptures, and the fountains which are ſuch embelliſhments to thoſe edifices and ſquares, would be one of the fineſt cities in all Lombardy, did not a want of inhabitants deprive it of the principal beauty that a city can boaſt *(a)*. Leandro Alberti ſays, that, in this particular, it was ſtill very proſperous at the time of its being conferred on the Farneſian fa-

(a) Scotti's itinerary printed in 1747, allows Placentia twenty-eight thouſand ſouls, in which there is an exceſs of at leaſt two thirds.

mily; and that, in the ſhort ſpace of freedom, under the protection of Charles V. after the firſt Farneſe had been murdered, the riches brought thither by manufactures and trade had enabled it to rebuild its walls with regular fortifications, and even a very ſtrong citadel; all the citizens being animated with a generous emulation in contributing to thoſe works and haſtening the finiſhing of them. The condition into which it has fallen ſince that epocha, is undoubtedly connected with many cauſes, of which I ſhall not enter into a diſcuſion; obſerving only that the preſent ſovereign has juſt ſet up a manufacture of ſilk. The view of his great expences for this foundation is to revive induſtry; but that good end would be much better anſwered, by taking under his protection, and ſpreading his liberalities among a number of particular manufactures.

The equeſtrian ſtatues of the famous Alexander Farneſe and Ranuccio his ſon, which ſtand in the great ſquare, appear to me exquiſitely fine, and ſuperior to any thing of the kind that Paris affords. The inſcription on the pedeſtal of that of Alexander I thought the more extravagant, with regard to his expedition into France for the ſervice of the *League*, as that fruitleſs expedition was not one of this heroe's greateſt atchievements; but to be ſure, it looked grand to repreſent him trampling on all France.

The cathedral and moſt of the churches are embelliſhed with paintings of the greateſt maſters of the Bologna ſchool, I mean the Carrachi and their principal diſciples, ſuch as Guerchini and Lanfranco. Placentia was the place where the latter

latter paſſed through the elements of that art, in which he ſhone with ſuch luſtre. The firſt encouragements and aſſiſtances he owed to the Scotti family, into the ſervice of which he was taken from his childhood. In the Scotti palace are ſeveral paintings placed there by himſelf, as memorials of his gratitude.

At St. Sixtus, a rich convent of Benedictines founded by Engilberga, ſpouſe to the emperor Lewis II, is that princeſs's monument, and near it is the great altar ſaid to be done from deſigns of Michael Angelo; it ſtands at the entrance into the choir, and repreſents only a table ſupported by two angels; a ſhrine fills up part of the void occaſioned by the ſuſpending of the table. Certainly nothing is more natural, nothing more finiſhed, than every particular of this piece, and the effect of the whole is ſimple, but noble and inchanting. The altar, together with the ſix candleſticks on it, are of bronze, which time has covered with that *patina* ſo highly eſteemed by the Italians, though it makes ſuch things, as theſe candleſticks particularly, look like ſo much old kitchen tackle. This is a kind of beauty which would take very little with the French taſte for glitter. All Rome, at our arrival there, was in an uproar againſt this ſhowy taſte, which had occaſioned the repoliſhing of thoſe admirable bronzes that adorn the *confeſſion of the apoſtles*, *(a)* and of thoſe belonging to St. Peter's chair. This repair was looked on as a real degradation, which giving to theſe pieces a borrowed appearance of newneſs, took from them that ex-

(*a*) At St. Peter's at Rome.

cellence

cellence of ſculpture, and that life which the inimitable ſkill of the artiſts had infuſed into them; but the parts chiefly lamented, were the pillars executed by Francis the Fleming, and the children interſperſed among the feſtoons within the wreaths of thoſe pillars. In a word, of this repair, in itſelf very expenſive, and ſo injurious to the pieces which were the objects of it, the people of Rome had the ſame thoughts, as the connoiſſeurs in France, when, on the return of every ſpring, they ſee all the ſtatues in the gardens of Verſailles and the Tuilleries left to the Savoyards, whoſe cleaning them puts one in mind of the Lorrainer in Rabelais, who, in the middle of May, was bruſhing himſelf clean, as if he wore a Spaniſh cloak.

Cicero, in his dialogue of *Brutus*, mentions with applauſe ſome orators, who, in his time flouriſhed at Placentia with talents, which might have figured at the bar of Rome, and in whom nothing was wanting but that air of urbanity, (*a*) which was to be acquired only amidſt genteel company at Rome.

Of late Placentia has given birth to the famous Alberoni. His extraction was of the very meaneſt; and he had riſen to ſome ſmall living belonging to the cathedral of Placentia, when the duke de Vendome accidentally coming to the knowledge of him, took him into his ſervice, made him his firſt aid de camp, and confident, &c. The laſt years of his life he ſpent in his native country, where, having recovered an eſtate belonging to a commandery called San Lazaro, and lying under the

(*a*) *Urbanitatis color. Omnium enim,* adds Cicero, *in noſtris eſt quidam urbanorum, ſicut ille Atticorum, ſonus.*

cannon

cannon of Placentia, he founded a ſeminary, erected at his own expence all the ſeveral buildings fit for ſuch an inſtitution, and procured it to be ſuitably endowed. Having theſe lands, he joined others in the neighbourhood of Placentia, which he diſcovered to have been uſurped from the church. This foundation was an eye ſore to the Placentians: But how great muſt have been the mortification of the cardinal himſelf, when, in the campaign of 1746, his ſeminary becoming the point of attack and defence to three formidable armies, was battered in his very ſight by all the Spaniſh and Genoeſe artillery, which did not leave a ſingle wall ſtanding!

The moſt intimate of my friends being at that time in the French army, had the pleaſure of ſeeing his eminence. On the Auſtrians taking poſſeſſion of his ſeminary, he had withdrawn to Placentia, in an apartment, the whole furniture of which was a bed, a table and four chairs, with a little pot boiling in the chimney over the ſmall fire of an apricot tree, cut that very day in the court-yard of the houſe to which his apartment belonged; neither his money nor intereſt having been able to procure a faggot

The cardinal at that time was above fourſcore, yet without any of the infirmities of old age My friend had been introduced to him by the preſident Scrivani, and thoſe three perſons have frequently ſpent three or four hours by themſelves. He treated Mr. Scrivani as a boſom friend. The converſation was free and lively, and the old gentleman, who had a great ſhare in it, by his ſpirited manner heightened the impreſſion, which the

ſubjects

ſubjects he related or diſcuſſed would, from their importance, have naturally made on ſuch hearers. He ſpoke Italian, French or Spaniſh, according to the affairs or perſons he was talking of; and in theſe three languages he expreſſed himſelf with equal energy and vivacity: his reflections he uſually backed with ſome maxims of Tacitus, and always in Latin; his relations and remarks uſually turned on the campaigns in which he had attended the duke de Vendome, his miniſtry in Spain, and the tranſactions on the carpet, at the time of this diſaſter. The particulars of all this I have ſeen in my friend's memoirs, who among other ſingularities heard him lay down his plan for ſettling the pretender; a plan which I have ſince met with unfolded more at large in that cardinal's will, as made public ſince his death.

The above memoirs farther inform me, 1ſt. that when, in 1746, marſhal Maillebois came into Placentia at the head of the French army, to fight againſt his advice that battle, which the council of Madrid had reſolved on, cardinal Alberoni, too eager to ſtand on ceremony, flew to the marſhal, and got to his anti-chamber without ſending up his name. A ſecretary, better acquainted with the exerciſe of troops than the ceremony of courts, was for ſtopping the cardinal, telling him in an abrupt manner, that the marſhal was buſy and ſaw no body. Friend, anſwered the cardinal with an imperious air, at the ſame time opening the door himſelf, I would have you to know that the duke de Vendome would ſee me on his cloſe-ſtool. This anſwer in the memoirs is followed by another very keen

keen one of the Abbé Aqua Viva, but which here might be thought misplaced. 2d. These memoirs inform me that the Spaniards, who were blocked up in Placentia, expressed the deepest veneration for cardinal Alberoni: they mentioned, with transport, how greatly their monarchy was obliged to his ministry, a ministry very remarkable indeed, by exciting the jealousy of the greatest powers in Europe, leagued together against a man, who, by the force of his genius, the extent of his designs, and the depth of his views, had made himself thus formidable.

Nimium vobis Hispana *propago*
Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

By the laws of Placentia, children share equally, even in noble inheritances. This equality being the *Palladium* of democratical states, and the sinew of industry in commercial towns, might suit Placentia before it was transferred to the house of Farnese; but since that settlement, since the decay of its manufactures, since its nobility have given over trade, that equality subdividing the fortunes of the nobility *ad infinitum*, and depriving the country of its last resource, which it would have found in the easy circumstances of the nobility, has filled it with a people of counts and titled slaves, whose dignity is of little weight without the support of wealth.

A foreigner indeed finds himself unexpectedly rich here, by the high value of the current specie, receiving about ninety six livres for a French louidor, and still is he a loser; the paulis and other

other Italic current coins, which are given him in exchange, being four times their value; among them are ſlipped ſome of the country ſpecie, which do not go any where elſe: in ſhort, your expences there are made to keep pace with the riſe of the courſe of exchange.

In our way from Placentia to Parma we forded, that is on the ſhoulders of peaſants who live by this conveyance, the river Taro, on the banks of which, below Fornovo, Charles VIII. king of France, gained that memorable victory, which delivered that prince and his army out of the hands of the Italians. This river wantonly roves along a vaſt plain, which it furrows and covers with ſtones and fragments of rocks from the Appenines, without any appearance of endeavours to confine it in a fixed bed. I was told it had formerly a bridge, but no ruins or traces of any ſuch thing could I perceive: the keeping up or repairing of this bridge would ſurely have done the former ſovereigns of this country more real honour, than building the famous theatre of Parma, which is of no manner of uſe, and cannot be ſeen but by expoſing yourſelf to be drowned in the Taro.

PARMA.

Under the Romans and the ages ſubſequent to the fall of their empire, the deſtinies of Parma and Placentia, have been linked together by the ſame events, and the ſame revolutions. On the aſſaſſination of Peter Lewis Farneſe, they both threw themſelves in the arms of Charles V, who afterwards ſold them to Octavius brother of Peter Lewis,

Lewis, in conſideration of his marriage with Margaret that emperor's natural daughter; the ſame Margaret who afterwards governed the Low countries with ſuch reputation, and was mother to Alexander Farneſe.

Parma is more regularly fortified than Placentia; both the works and the citadel are ſtill in pretty good condition. Its ſituation is quite delightful, and the paintings in its public edifices afford a moſt exquiſite entertainment; every place charms the curious ſpectator with maſter-pieces by Corregio, his rivals and his diſciples. The Aſſumption in the cupola of the dome, coſt that immortal artiſt his life. Having given himſelf up to the heat of his fancy, he hazarded ſome bold flights, which are the aſtoniſhment and admiration of the greateſt maſters in our days, but diſpleaſed the canons, who had beſpoke the piece. Though the price was but ſlender, they would have it that they had been impoſed on, and beſides an arbitrary deduction, told him out the remainder in *quadrins & bajooccos*, and other copper money; which poor Correggio took on his back, carrying it two or three leagues, to an old country houſe where his workſhop was. The incumbrance of ſuch a burden, the heat of the day, and the length of the way, together with the indignation and fretfulneſs which rankled in his heart, brought on a pleuriſy, ſome touches of which he felt by the way, and he died of it three days after, at the age of only forty years. The invaluable communion of St. Jerom by Dominichini, and Bourdon's maſter-piece, that diſtinguiſhed ornament of Montpellier cathedral, met with the like reception, and were as ill paid

paid for, by thoſe who had ſet the artiſts to work; as ſhall be related in its place.

Quatenùs, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus:
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi!

I ſaid to one of the canons, from whom I had the above relation, that in honour and conſcience, this chapter ought to appoint a perpetual anniverſary for poor Correggio; he fell a laughing, and promiſed it ſhould be done: a like propoſal which I afterwards made in behalf of Bourdon, to a groupe of the prebendaries of Montpellier, who were coming together from the riſing of a chapter, was anſwered in the very ſame manner.

The cathedral and ſeveral other churches in Parma, are covered with *freſcos*, by Correggio Parmegiano, &c. Thoſe of the cathedral which are moſtly camayeus, repreſent virtues perſonated by women, in attitudes very elegantly varied. Theſe figures are attired, but without hiding any ſtroke of nudity, and exhibit more graces than ſeem to comport with the place.

In a chapel of this church, was formerly ſeen the piece where Correggio has ſurpaſſed himſelf; it is a Holy family with St. Jerom, and Mary Magdalen grouped into it. The Farneſian princes ſhewing a ſtrong deſire of adding this piece to their immenſe collection, the canons took it down, and conveying it privately from hand to hand, ſecreted it from all the ſovereign's narrow ſearches, for the ſpace of forty or fifty years. On the deceaſe of Anthony, the laſt duke, they lodged it among the moſt

moſt valuable curioſities of their treaſury, from whence, however, it has been removed by the infant Don Philip, and at preſent makes the capital ornament of a gallery in his palace, of which that prince has given the uſe to the academy of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, founded by himſelf; it is kept under lock and key.

This picture is an aſſemblage of beauties, engaging to every eye; it ſpeaks to the mind in its expreſſion, delicacy, and action; and no leſs to the heart, in the graces, the ſoftneſs, and tenderneſs, which ſtrike even into the moſt minute circumſtances. Here St. Jerom and Mary Magdalen do not ſtand apart from the principal ſubject, as in almoſt all the Italian pictures: St. Jerom's auſterity, and Mary Magdalen's amorous caſt, with the infant Jeſus playing with her treſſes, ſpread a feeling throughout the whole piece, which pleaſes the more, as perceivable only to an intelligent examination. Innumerable copies and engravings have been made of this wonderful performance, and though by the beſt hands, not one has been able to hit Mary's ſmile: in moſt of the copies, that raviſhing ſmile is degenerated into a ſneer.

Another diſtinguiſhed piece by the ſame maſter, in the churches of Parma, is the Virgin *alla Scudella*, or with the porringer, at the *Rochettini*; the figures to me appeared of the ſhorteſt, but every thing elſe beſpeaks Correggio. By way of ſecuring the veſtry keeper's fee from ſtrangers, who would ſee this piece, it is hidden under a prepoſterous daubing, which lets down into the body of the

altar, but intercepts the air from the painting over which it hangs; and thus the moiſture of the wall, ſettling on this pretty performance, muſt haſten its decay.

At the time of our being at Parma, one of its principal wonders was Madame Iſabella, daughter to the infant Don Philip. In this princeſs, whoſe hand had been promiſed to the eldeſt of the archdukes, ſhone all the graces which charmed in the maſter-pieces that ſtood round her cradle *(a)*; graces heightened by talents in all the agreeable arts, and by no ſlender improvements in ſolid literature: ſhe reſided at the palace Giardino. The hereditary prince, with a governor and preceptor appointed in France (M. de Keraglio and the Abbe de Condillac) lived by himſelf in the palace of Parma; whilſt the infant, their father, reſided at Colorno, having with him M. du Tillot, his cabinet miniſter, who, as he was born in Spain of French parents, poſſeſſes the characteriſtical merits of both nations. Among the ſuite of the court at Colorno, was a complete company of French players.

Mr. Addiſon in his travels into Italy, deſcants on the expenſiveneſs of theſe little courts, like an Engliſhman, blaming it as deſtructive to people, who ſhould be the happier for having their ſovereign among them. He would, perhaps, have reaſoned otherwiſe, had it occurred to him what would be the condition of theſe ſame people under a ſovereign, who buried all the money he got from them.

(a) Una omnes ſurripuit Veneres.

From

From Parma to Colorno the price of poſtchaiſes is quadrupled; I would not make any great enquiry about the cauſe of ſuch an apparent exaction. This palace, which was built by one of the name of San Severino, and embelliſhed in the wars of Lewis XII. is more remarkable for its ſituation than the beauty and regularity of its conſtruction. In the laſt Italian war, the Auſtrians had their head-quarters here; in what condition they left both the palace and the gardens is eaſily imagined.

In the gardens are two antique coloſſes *(a)*. That which was leaſt mutilated has been repaired, and at preſent ſtands in the center of a graſs-plat on a pedeſtal proportioned to its ſtature. Having in this inſulated poſition no other ground than the circumambient air, the black and gloſſy ſurface of the touch-ſtone, of which it is made, is hardly perceivable by the eye. The other coloſſus ſtill lies in the adjoining plat, wanting a like repair. This repreſents a naked youth in the embraces of a little ſatyr, ſtraining to lay his right-hand over the youth's right hip, and his other hand griping the left hip. Nothing can exceed the fine proportion of the principal figure; that of the ſatyr is diminutive, and the countenance is mean and ſordid, but full of fire and expreſſion. A pretty good deſign of this piece is among the ornaments in the frontiſpiece of Abbe Barthes's diſſertation, of which I gave an account in the article of Turin.

(a) Theſe two coloſſes were found laſt century, on the mount Palatine at Rome. See M. Bianchini *Palazzo de' Ceſari*, where they are engraved.

In our way to Parma we paſſed through Borgo-San-Donino, a ſmall place dignified with an epiſcopal ſee. On the outſide of its cathedral's great door, which indeed is common to moſt of the cathedrals in Lombardy, are two marble lions, not every where of the ſame bigneſs, but either ſquatting, or raiſed on their fore paws, according to the ſculptor's fancy. The greater part are moſtly prior to the revival of arts in Italy. The great altar-piece in the cathedral of Borgo is a Purification, by an artiſt of the Bologna ſchool; the two turtle doves are in a baſket, covered with a linen cloth; a boy lifts up a corner of it, and holds out his finger at them, which they peck at.

The ſovereign's palaces at Parma and Placentia are only half finiſhed plans, which, if leſs enormous, would unqueſtionably have been completed.

REGGIO and MODENA.

Theſe cities which, ſo long ago as in the reign of Theodoſius, St. Ambroſe termed *ſemirutarum urbium cadavera*, were ſince deſtroyed by thoſe ſwarms of barbarians who over-ran Italy under that prince's ſucceſſors *(b)*. On the proſpect of

(a) Epiſt. ad Fauſtin.

(b) I ſometimes place at the head of the articles, the accounts which, for my private uſe, I had extracted from the very learned, and very diffuſe Leandro Alberti. Theſe ſuperficial ſtrictures concerning countries, with which one is not yet acquainted, are to travellers, and thoſe who read their narratives, like a word ſpoken by the by, concerning the company in an aſſembly, where one happens to be for the firſt time.

an

an univerſal peace, expected from Charlemain's government, the deſcendants of the former inhabitants of theſe cities returned and rebuilt them: they had been left in ſuch a ruinous condition, that it was thought beſt to rebuild Modena in a more convenient ſite than where it had ſtood before. Through induſtry and populouſneſs, animated by the love of their country and freedom, they ſoon became wealthy, flouriſhing, and martial *(a)*. Under the anarchy which followed, the condition of theſe cities and the petty neighbouring ſtates, was the ſame as that of the ancient *Latium* in the firſt ages of the Roman republic. Every city was a ſtate by itſelf, ever embroiled with its neighbours, and often rent by factions and inteſtine diviſions. If none of theſe ſtates could, like Rome, acquire a dominion, it was unqueſtionably owing to their people's never loſing ſight of the ballance of power, herein more politic than the neighbours of ancient Rome; this was the capital concern abſorbing all ſuſpicions, rivalries, animoſities, and private intereſts. In this anarchy Modena and Reggio acted a part.

(a) Theſe cities likewiſe owed part of their proſperity to the laws which they made for themſelves at that juncture. Among thoſe which Modena laid down to itſelf in 1225 was one, revived a few years ago, by England, and a general law it ought to be in all countries which have the improvement of agriculture at heart. This law appointed a jury, on whoſe eſtimate any proprietor of one or more large parcels of land, might, by purchaſe or exchange, acquire the ſmall parcels which either bordered on, or ſeparated his poſſeſſions. By this wiſe meaſure, every farm being as one field, both to the owner's eye and the farmer's tillage, the limits of poſſeſſions became more fixed and certain, and the cultivation of them infinitely more eaſy.

Being moſtly governed by citizens of their own, whoſe authority they uſed to ſhake off on every little umbrage, they ſucceſſively transferred themſelves to the emperor, the pope, the Venetians, the dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Milan, but whoſe governors they either expelled or aſſaſſinated on the firſt diſcontent. The authors of theſe abrupt revolutions are commemorated in their annals among their worthies. At length Julius II. having wreſted them from Alphonſo d'Eſte, duke of Ferrara, this duke recovered them, whilſt Rome was beſieged by Charles V. They ſtill belong to the houſe of Eſte, by grant from Clement VIII. when he re-united the duchy of Ferrara to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

The territory of theſe cities, is a fertile plain watered by the Po, the Panaro, the Secchia, and Lenza, and every where planted in almoſt a continual quincunx, with ſtately elms, and on each one or two large vines. The extremities of theſe ſpreading vines reaching ſo as to be interlaced, form, in every interval, an ample garland, the natural prominence of which in the middle, I am inclined to think gave the firſt hint of thoſe garlands or feſtoons among the onaments of architecture. The land thus ſhaded by theſe trees and ſuſpended vines, is tilled and ſowed: when I uſed to ſay that this was the very way to have both bad vines and bad grounds, the anſwer was, that it had always been the way, and that the ground was too moiſt and cold for the vine; and on my replying this was making the ground ſtill more cold and moiſt for the grain, I had the firſt reaſon over again.

We

We were told that it has been a cuſtom, among the vintagers, time out of mind, when they are gathering grapes on theſe trees near a road, to ſpew out at all who paſs by, without minding ſex or rank, all the foul language and ribaldry, uſed in the moſt abandoned places. An omiſſion of theſe vociferations would be accounted a neglect of their privileges; and ſome who otherwiſe are diſcrete and well behaved, conform to this cuſtom, which began with their vineyards; at leaſt in Horace we meet with the character of one of theſe foul mouthed vintagers.

Durus
Vendemiator & invictus, cui ſæpe viator
Ceſſiſſet, magna compellans voce cucullum.

Luigi Tranſillo's Stanzas, called *il Vendemiatore* are known all over Italy. The poet has heaped together all the ſcurrilities and obſcenities uſed by theſe vintagers. This is not unlike the new kind of poetry which, to the great diſhonour of Phœbus and the muſes, has got footing in France of late years, by the name of *ſtyle Poiſſard*, Billinſgate ſtyle.

What little commerce remains in the territories of Modena accrues from their fairs, and being by their ſituation a ſtaple for thoſe of Bolſena, Sinigaglia, and Alexandria, which are the moſt frequented in all Italy. The French woollen goods here keep up a competition with thoſe of England; the manufactures of Lyons are prefered to all foreign ſilks, except the Engliſh mohairs; none but Swiſs and Sileſia linens are eſteemed

there. The coarſer woollens and linens for the lower ſort of people come from Bergamo.

At Reggio and Modena are ſeveral grand pieces of painting, particularly the ſovereign's rich collection in his palace, but which we did not ſee. Over the great altar of the cathedral of Reggio is placed a capital picture by Annibal Carracho; but in ſo bad a light, and the colouring ſo degraded, that we could ſcarce diſcern it. At the cathedral of Modena we ſaw a painting as wrongly placed and in as bad a light, yet better preſerved, though its tints in general ſeem to have ſuffered not a little from the air of the great door, to which it is directly expoſed; the ſubject is the purification of the Virgin Mary. Nature itſelf is eminently diſplayed in the numerous figures that compoſe it; but a noble and ſublime nature, replete with that myſtery by which all the perſonages in the piece are engaged I could not but particularly admire the action of a young attendant of the high-prieſt. The two turtle doves are placed facing him on a ſtool; a child is wantonly teazing them with the tip of his finger, which the youth looks at with a ſly attention; his age, his air, his looks ſhew that he would willingly join in the ſport, were he not withheld by his veſture, the preſence of the high-prieſt, and the ceremony in which he has the honour of officiating. Our poſtillion told us that it was a Guido; the maſter of our inn aſſured us that the artiſt was Pelegrino, an eminent painter of Modena; and a prieſt, whom we met with in the church, gave his honour that it was done by Raphael: for in Italy every common man is at leaſt an *amatore*; and

I obſerved

I obſerved that our poſtillion viewed the above painting with no leſs attention, pleaſure, and feeling than we ourſelves.

He would likewiſe, by all means, be one of the company when we went to ſee the famous *Secchia.* This is a pail almoſt covered with iron; it is perceived by the light of a taper, hanging by a ſtrong chain to the roof of a dark Gothic tower; the paſſage to which is through ſeveral gates, which are very carefully ſhut in going from one to the other. This pail is the trophy of an advantage gained by the Modeneſe over the Bologneſe, within the very walls of Bologna, about the middle of the tenth century. Taſſoni's celebrated poem, which was firſt printed at Paris under the author's inſpection, has made known to all the learned world, the great value the Modeneſe place on this trophy.

To begin with Reggio, the cities of Lombardy, ſuch as Modena, Bologna, Padua, *&c.* have on each ſide of the ſtreets a range of porticos or piazzas, on which the firſt ſtory of the houſes projects. Theſe porticos are a continued ſhelter from the ſun and rain; but 1ſt. They are of no ornament to the cities, varying in form and height almoſt at every houſe, and very few with any of the rules or ornaments of architecture; 2d. The ſtreets, being left for carriages and beaſts of burden, are never ſwept, nor the leaſt care taken of the pavement, ſo that in many places the middle of the ſtreet is a common ſewer, or quagmire, which it is no body's buſineſs to have cleaned; 3d. Theſe porticos make the ſtreets very dangerous at duſk, and at night impracticable,

practicable, especially in a country where, from private revenge, murders are so frequent.

Reggio, though built in the same manner, is tolerably clean, whereas Modena is perpetually foul and dirty; and this unwholesome inconveniency is fed by the waters of the fountains, and a canal which joins this city to the Panaro. Tassoni himself, though a native of Modena, calls it by way of antonomasia, *La Citta Fetente*, i. e. the stinking city, and another Italian poet gives this description of it.

Modena è una città di Lombardia
Tra'l Pannaro e la Secchia, in un patano,
Dove si smerda ogni Fedel christiano
Che s' abbate a passar per questa via.

i. e. Modena is a city of Lombardy, in a mire between the Panaro and the Secchia, where every good christian who happens to pass this way, is sure to be befouled.

Amidst the filth and ordures of this city, *crassoque sub aere*, have been born several persons of very great eminence in the sciences and arts, such as cardinal Sadolet, Sigonius, Molza, Castelvetro, Tassoni, Fulvio Testi, Muratori, who have all immortalized themselves by poetry or excellent pieces of history and criticism; Fallopius, one of the first anatomists in Europe, and Barozzi no less celebrated for his architecture. The little town of Corregio which stands on the Lenza, between Reggio and Modena, is famous for giving birth to that painter, who adopted its name.

BOLOGNA.

BOLOGNA.

The ſituation of this city is nearly the ſame as that of Reggio and Modena, except its proximity to the Appennine, from whence iſſue many brooks and rivulets, which having no very ſettled courſe, fertilize the ſoil by ſucceſſive ſediments, but at the ſame time fill the air with noxious exhalations.

Amidſt theſe waters, before we reached Bologna, we were ſhewn the little iſland where Auguſtus, in conjunction with Mark Anthony and Lepidus, formed that triumvirate, which, by ways known only to himſelf, raiſed him to the empire of the univerſe.

Bologna was conquered from the Etruſci by the Boii of Gaul*, who gave it the name of *Boïona*, and afterwards from the Gauls by the Romans, who ſtrengthened it with numerous colonies: under the firſt emperors it was the metropolis of twelve cities. Anthony, in the war to which the triumvirate abovementioned put an end, had made it his place of arms. In the decline of the empire, upon its taking ſome ſteps towards liberty, Gratian, to check ſuch practices, built a citadel: but this occaſioned freſh commotions, which however were ſeverely chaſtiſed by Theodoſius, who deſtroyed the city and put its wretched inhabitants to the ſword.

Theodoſius the younger rebuilt it; afterwards it came under the dominion of the Lombards, and from them paſſed to Charlemain's empire; at

* *Tit. Liv. lib.* 17. † *Plin. l.* 3.

length

length it ſignalized itſelf in the general anarchy, into which Italy ran under that emperor's deſcendants. During the four centuries, which this confuſed ſtate of violence laſted, and amidſt all the evils and calamities which are the neceſſary effect and conſequence of ſuch convulſions, it increaſed in largeneſs, power, and riches. In the courſe of the 13th century it conquered part of Romania, ſubjected the Modeneſe, ſupported a three years war againſt the Venetians, who attacked it with an army of no leſs than forty thouſand men. Its claim to the Modeneſe, and the wars to which that claim gave riſe, were founded on a diploma, by which Theodoſius II. on erecting the univerſity of Bologna, granted it a part of the territory of Modena. That inſtrument was nothing more than an ancient inſcription, very badly imitated, and placed by the Bologneſe in St. Petronius's church. This ſpurious voucher, the Modeneſe combated with another of the like ſtamp; and on this foundation it is, that Bologna, to this very day, attributes the inſtitution of its univerſity to Theodoſius II. Such was the turbulency of thoſe times, that in all its annals, not two ſucceſſive years are to be found, during which it has continued, under the like form of government, in a voluntary or forced ſubmiſſion to maſters of its own election, or whom it was under a neceſſity of receiving,

Its law ſchools were, in a twofold ſenſe, its *palladium*, drawing thither, from all parts of Europe, ten or twelve thouſand ſtudents, between the ages of twenty and thirty years; and theſe fiery youths were the more diſpoſed to ſecond the reſolutions,

reſolutions, and political views of the council of Bologna, its chief offices being filled by the profeſſors.

The popes often exerciſed the ſovereignty over this city, either voluntarily or by force, but amidſt ſuch diſturbances and revolutions, they never could ſecure themſelves the ſteady poſſeſſion of it. This miracle was reſerved for Julius II. one of the moſt wonderful characters in all modern hiſtory. The terrible aſpect, in which he ſhewed himſelf to the people of Bologna, at his public entry into this city on St. Martin's day 1506, wrought ſo powerfully on the imagination of this mutinous people, as to fix their variations and reduce them to the papal government. Michael Angelo, who accompanied the pope in this expedition, transfuſed all the indignation and fierceneſs which inflamed this pontiff's countenance on that occaſion, into the bronze ſtatue which he left them; ſo that it had more the air of a thundering Jupiter, than a pontiff giving his benediction. It was pulled down and reduced to powder in the laſt ſtruggles of expiring liberty. Since that time Bologna, once ſo turbulent and untractable, now quiet and ſubmiſſive, enjoys, under the ſlender umbrage of the church, a remainder of liberty, which it has never made the leaſt attempt to abuſe. By the conditions of this liberty it is intitled to nominate an auditor of the Rota, and keep an ambaſſador in ordinary at the pope's court; no citadel is to be built; and the effects and poſſeſſions of its inhabitants are not liable to confiſcation. Theſe ſtipulations, equally advantageous to the pope and the Bologneſe,

exhibit

exhibit the condition of thoſe petty ſtates, whtch, under the Roman republic, *majeſtatem populi Romani comiter obſervabant.* Leo X. induced by a very wiſe policy, made choice of this city for the interview between him and Francis I. for ſettling the concordat. Here likewiſe, fourteen years after, Clement VII. crowned Charles V. and in 1543, Paul III. held two interviews with the ſame emperor. The reſidence of ſplendid courts at Bologna, and the connections which ſuch reſidence formed between the Bologneſe and the French and German courtiers, taught the former to obey, ſhewing them in the nobility perſons much their ſuperiors, who valued themſelves on obedience, and even accounted it an honour.

Bologna is at preſent divided between a commonalty, not at all famed for induſtry, and a nobility, who cannot boaſt of their wealth, ſome houſes excepted; and whoſe magnificence, Roman like, goes no farther than a ſtately palace and a ſhowy equipage. This nobility, all attached to the court of Rome, by reaſon of the advantages expected from it, form a very numerous body, of which part owes its origin to the former anarchy, and the other to grants from emperors. Charles V. particularly created two hundred knights on occaſion of his coronation at Bologna; profeſſorſhips and trade were the nurſery of this body, and it is kept up and renewed by the ſame means and the ſame devices by which nobility is obtained in all countries. Among the families moſt known to ſtrangers by the dignities which they have enjoyed, it is ſufficient to name the Ludovici, Buon-compagni, Lambertini, Bentivogli,

tivogli, Pepoli, Azzolini, Graffi, Davia, Spada, Riari, Campeggi, Monti, Aldrovandi, Malvezzi, Marfigli, *&c.*

Bologna owed its firſt wealth and greatneſs to manufactures of different kinds; and at preſent very conſiderable quantities of ſilks are wrought by hydraulic machines, which make the workmanſhip more eaſy and expeditious. The far greater part of theſe ſilks go to France and England. As for the crapes and gauzes of Bologna, their chief vent is in Germany. Its ratafia, ſauſages and *mortadellos* are known all over the univerſe; theſe are the elixir of the produce of the Bologneſe; that is, of the brandies diſtilled from all the wine of its growth, beyond what is reſerved for conſumption, and of the very numerous herds which cover its paſtures. Hemp is one of the moſt conſiderable products of this ſoil, and would be the moſt advantageous to the inhabitants, did it employ any of the home manufactures; but almoſt the whole of it is exported without bleaching, very badly dreſſed, and dog cheap for want of vent. Scarce is it uſed in ſome very coarſe kinds of linen for the populace. Its paſſive trade for cloth, linen, and ſilks, is on the ſame footing as at Modena and Reggio. The trading houſes lay their chief ſtreſs on the fairs of Italy, which they punctually follow.

Bologna is built with piazza's like Modena and Reggio, and has the ſame nuiſances and inconveniences. Its moſt conſiderable edifice is the public palace, in which reſided the popes and ſovereigns during the interviews above-mentioned: at preſent the legate and the chiefs of the magiſtracy

giſtracy are lodged there: it likewiſe contains the principal courts of juſtice. Before it is a large irregular ſquare, one part of which is taken up by its front, which is anſwered by that of St. Petronius's church. It was in this ſquare that ſtood Michael Angelo's ſtatue of Julius II. which has been replaced by a coloſſal Neptune, by John of Bologna, which mothers ſtrictly charge their *zitelle* (girls) not to look at. It decorates a fountain, the jets or ſpouts of which are of a meanneſs very ſeldom ſeen in Italy, in things of this kind. St. Petronius's church, as to the extent of its nave, ſurpaſſes any in Bologna; in it is the famous Meridian, by which Dominic Caſſini made his fortune. It has been renewed in this century, and this renewal is commemorated by a very pompous inſcription. All the other churches of Bologna have only a nave, with ſome chapels along the ſide walls, or in the manner of outworks. Were all theſe churches equal in bigneſs to that of St. Petronius, Bologna could not contain them; for within its circuit, which is but about five miles, are a hundred and eighty conſecrated buildings, baſilics or parochial churches, together with thoſe of religious houſes, and chapels of brotherhoods. The cathedral, which has been intirely rebuilt in the modern ſtyle, is juſt finiſhed, together with its ſtately portal, erected from deſigns of Torregiani, by means of funds given or procured by Benedict XIV. Bologna has ſeveral very rich monaſteries. One of them, of the order of St. Benedict, had given ſome lands under an odd kind of acknowledgement, mentioned by Muratori in his inquiries into the donations bequeathed *à Livello*.

At

At dinner, on the feſtival of the patron of the abbey, the tenant uſed to come up to the abbot with a covered porringer, in which was a pullet boiled in rice; then lifting up the lid of the porringer, he waved it under the good father's noſe and moved off with his pullet, only the ſmell of it being the abbot's due.

The principal ornament of Bologna would be its many palaces, were they not generally buried by thoſe ſhocking piazzas. A theatre was building here, inſulated on every ſide: no modern building of that kind has come in my way which is comparable to it for the outſide decorations; and for the diſpoſition within, it has been formed from whatever ancient and modern times afford, moſt adapted and ſuitable to the purpoſe of the ſtructure, not excluding decorations, which are diſtributed with equal taſte and œconomy. Should Paris ever think of embelliſhing itſelf with a new theatre, it could not have a better model.

But the preference of Bologna with regard to public foundations, whether modern, or perhaps ancient, conſiſts in its celebrated INSTITUTE. The ſciences and arts are aſſembled together in one of the fineſt palaces in the city, and connected, as I may ſay, by a large and well choſen library in all faculties: here is whatever the citizens's intereſt, and the foreigner's curioſity can deſire. Its aſtronomical obſervatory is furniſhed with the beſt inſtruments: anatomy has an amphitheatre in which are the ſtatues of the moſt ancient and modern phyſicians, and a ſpacious room filled with a complete ſet of anatomical pieces in wax: painting and ſculpture, beſides a moſt convenient apartment

for the ſtudy and practice of thoſe arts, have two large rooms full of models of the moſt valuable remains of antiquity, taken from their originals: the pupils of architecture have a hall crowded with deſigns and models of the fineſt pieces, ancient and modern, among which are all the obeliſks of Rome. This aſſemblage of ſtudies, in every branch, is farther enriched with curious muſeums of antiques and natural hiſtory. Now imagine all theſe advantages heightened by the voice, and the lectures of able profeſſors in every art and every ſcience; and this gives an idea of the magnificence of this foundation, which holds the greater part of its riches from Benedict XIV's love to his country, where his family, ſo early as the 13th century, was in high reputation by the talents of Saraſino de' Lambertini, whom the Modeneſe invited from Bologna to be their Podeſtate.

It was that illuſtrious pope who furniſhed the obſervatory with inſtruments executed, on his orders, by the moſt ſkilful Engliſh artiſts; it was he who employed Hercules Lelli to make the waxen collection of anatomical pieces. Abbé count Farſetti, a Venetian, having aſked his leave to take models of the fineſt antiques in Rome, he granted it, on condition he ſhould cauſe two copies to be made of every piece, reſerving the choice to himſelf but the price to the count; which having been punctually performed, the pope ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of an invaluable collection both for completeneſs and execution. This munificent patriot ſent it away to Bologna, where, even in a literal ſenſe, it fills three large apartments of the INSTITUTE,

STITUTE. It is to be wiſhed that it may be diſtributed in other apartments, which it will embelliſh without loſing any thing of its value: the whole being thus crowded together, has too much the appearance of a warehouſe; beſides, a fine ſtatue is no where miſplaced.

The Inſtitute's library is another no leſs ſplendid monument of Benedict's favour to ſcience. On his exaltation to the pontificate he left it his private library, with a great many memoirs and collections of his own hand writing. In running over theſe memoirs, I accidentally lighted on thoſe which he had from his prieſts, when archbiſhop of Bologna. Each ſubject in them is characteriſed in two words. Several I ſaw of moſt remarkable energy, which prove that he would thoroughly know thoſe whom he employed.

The favours which ſovereigns are deſirous of from the pope, form a ſettled correſpondence between them and Rome, by which the popes are often conſiderable gainers, and common popes turn the produce to the profit of their family or favourites: Benedict XIV. being as far from any intereſted views for his relations, as he had been for himſelf in his private life, the foreign miniſters had no faſtening on him, ſo that at length they bethought themſelves of attacking him by his curious fondneſs for books. France being more in the way of ſupplying this taſte than any other power, ſpared nothing for its gratification; all the Louvre editions, ancient and modern, le Jai's Polyglot, the Byſantine hiſtory, the collections of councils, the great works of ſacred and profane literature, together with every valuable

production of French typography, were ſent to Rome by loads, and in the neateſt and moſt curious bindings. The pope received them with tranſport, and after entertaining himſelf with them for a few months, ſent them away to Bologna. Whether no exact account was kept in France of the invoices, and the particulars of each, or whether the intereſt of bookſellers had a hand in the miſtake; the ſame books were ſometimes ſent twice, ſo that the Inſtitute's library has duplicates of ſeveral of the moſt valuable. The example of France was followed by other powers; England itſelf joined in this contribution, which all terminated in the advantage of the Inſtitute. Benedict XIV. farther left to it, at his death, his whole remainder of books, obſervations, and collections.

Before the foundation of the Inſtitute, Bologna had a library in the public palace, which has ſince been added to that of the Inſtitute, where now is ſeen a treaſure, particularly adapted to it. This treaſure is a complete collection, in near two hundred large folios, of all the famous Aldrovandi's works relating to Natural Hiſtory; it conſiſts of coloured deſigns of foſſils, plants, and animals, performed by the beſt draughtſmen of the kind, and under the inſpection of Aldrovandi himſelf, who has added particular deſcriptions and remarks. What eſtimate can be made of a treaſure of this nature, when all other taſtes ſhall be loſt in that for Natural Hiſtory!

A traveller muſt be blind to omit ſeeing at Bologna the tower *de gli Aſinelli*, and the famous *Gariſenda*, which, however, is nothing comparable

able to the tower of Piſa. Theſe brick towers are very common in the cities of Lombardy and Tuſcany; having been domeſtic citadels, which, in the times of anarchy, were equally neceſſary both to the peaceable and the turbulent citizens. If there be any thing remarkable in them, it is the quality of the mortar or cement. Bricks are the moſt common materials in Italy for all kinds of edifices; the largeſt churches, the greateſt palaces are brick; ſtone, like marble, being no farther made uſe of than as facings. The French builders ſeem not to make ſufficient uſe of this ſuccedaneum in places where ſtone is ſcarce, which would be the more convenient for them, as wood for burning bricks is much more plentiful in France than in Italy.

An edifice at Bologna, of a very ſingular nature indeed, is the gallery or covered portico, cloſed on the north-ſide but open ſouthward, and leading to the Madonna di S. Luca at the diſtance of a French league. At my firſt view of this gallery, I took it to be a *gymnaſium* or place for public exerciſes of the body, built by the advice of the College of Phyſicians, that the Bologneſe might, in any weather, enjoy the exerciſe of walking, which is the more requiſite to their health, as living in a groſs and heavy air. When I was afterwards informed of the uſe of this ſtructure, it did not alter my opinion: but I came to be quite of another mind, on finding that the nobility, that is near half the city, never *walk* abroad *per la dignitá*, as derogatory to their honour. In the laſt Italian war, the Germans, the rear of

whoſe camp for a long time joined to this portico, made uſe of it to cook their victuals in, by which it was greatly damaged.

We now come to the grand characteriſtic of Bologna, and which raiſes it to a level with the principal cities in Italy: I mean the Carachi ſchool; that is the maſter-pieces of that ſchool, with which the churches, chapels, palaces, private houſes, and the very ſtreets of Bologna are filled.

Painting, wantonly departing from the tracks pointed out to it by Raphael and Michael Angelo, had run into bye-paths, following no light but the meteors of caprice, when about the year 1580, Lewis Carrachi opened his ſchool: *Lapſanti picturæ ſuffectus Hercules*, ſays an Italian. The fundamental element of this ſchool was a ſtrict ſtudy of that deſign, and all thoſe beauties which Titian, Paul Veroneſe, and chiefly Coreggio had acquired by a happy imitation of nature. Lewis finding in his kinſmen Auguſtine and Hannibal ſuitable talents, had brought them to the ſame ſcope by the ſame ways, and this glorious triumvirate were not long in forming pupils worthy of them and their elevated views. Among theſe pupils Guido, Dominichini, Guerchini, and Albano, are known to all the polite world; Cavedone, Tiarini, Garbieri, and Canuti, are very great, though their reputation is not ſo univerſal. The only point in which the three Carrachi reſembled each other, and the pupils their maſters, was ſuch an eaſe, and natural freedom, that nothing of art and labour was diſcernable in their compoſitions *(a)*. Exempt from that ſlavery

(a) Ars illa ſumma eſt, ne ars eſſe videatur, Quintil, L. 1. Cap. 12.

to

to which ordinary maſters confine their diſciples, every one was left to the bent of his own genius; and it is to them eſpecially that may be applied, what Cicero ſaid of the moſt celebrated Grecian painters: *Omnes inter ſe diſſimiles fuerunt, ſed ita tamen ut neminem ſui velis eſſe diſſimilem**. The different manners which each of theſe painters gave into, have divided taſtes and opinions concerning their degree in the ſcale of merit. Rome and Bologna by no means agree on this head: Rome prefers Hannibal Carrachi to Lewis, and Guido to Dominichini. Bologna, though unanimous in crying up Lewis above Hannibal, and Dominichini above Guido, is itſelf divided between Guido and Albano; but it is ſufficient for the glory of theſe great maſters, that all who have eyes, join in admiring them.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of ſuch of their works as are ſeen at Bologna; it takes up a volume of four hundred pages, which is ſold in this city. Here alſo are to be had the Lives of all the painters of Bologna, in ſeveral quarto volumes. I have not peruſed them, but, for the reader's ſake, I hope the authors have avoided that turgeſcency which prevails in the title of their works. This which I took caſually may ſerve for a ſample. *Nel intrar in chieſa (del Corpus Domini) in un ſubito, ingombra tutta l'ammirazione del Paſſagiere, la vaghezza del maeſtoſo dipinto che orna tutte le di lei ſacre mura, rappreſentando vivamente le geſta e le virtù della noſtra Santa Heroïna (Santa Caterina di Bologna).* i. e. "On the traveller's entering the

* *De orat.* Lib. 3. init.

church (of Corpus Domini) his whole aſtoniſhment is confounded by the beauty of the majeſtic paintings which adorn all its ſacred walls, in a lively repreſentation of the actions and virtues of our holy heroine St. Catharine of Bologna."

Among this crowd of maſter-pieces, I was more particularly taken with ſome, for reaſons which I am going to relate.

1ſt. A St. Peter weeping, by Guido, at the Zampieri palace. Of all the paintings I ever ſaw, never was I ſo much ſtruck with any as this. St. Peter, whom an apoſtle is comforting, is as big as life. It is impoſſible for the pencil to exceed this deception. The Greeks muſt certainly have had very great maſters in this kind, if what Pliny ſaid of one of their pictures be as true as it is of this: *caput, crus & pedes eminent, & extra tabulam videntur.*

2dly. By the ſame maſter, in the church *de 'Mendicanti*, Job replaced on the throne: a picture, perhaps, inferior in the eyes of the great connoiſſeurs to that of the chief altar, by the ſame hand; but I ſhould prefer the former. Amidſt a multitude of people offering preſents to Job on his reſtoration, the painter has with inimitable delicacy hit on, and with all poſſible juſtneſs expreſſed, the different gradations of emotion, which the difference of age, rank, and condition, could reſpectively excite among all thoſe perſons. This ſingular ſubject, and which no other painter has handled, was unqueſtionably an allegory in which Guido might have in his eye Frederic V. elector palatine,

palatine, choſen king of Bohemia in 1619, and in 1620 put under the ban of the empire. Had this prince actually aſcended the throne to which he had been called, he would have met with his hiſtory in this picture, and unqueſtionably have rewarded the artiſt like a king. I muſt leave to thoſe who are better acquainted with the particulars of the hiſtory of painters, the care of verifying this conjecture, by comparing the dates which I have ſpecified, with that which they may aſſign to this maſterly performance.

3dly. In the ſame church is a St. Joſeph by Tiarini, and angels bringing him back at the feet of the virgin, with whom he expoſtulates concerning her pregnancy. Some neighbours of both ſexes, preſent at this expoſtulation, form an acceſſory, taken from common life, and handled with a ſuitable ſimplicity, not in the leaſt derogatory to the dignity of the principal ſubject.

4thly. Among the maſter-pieces of the Carrachi and their ſchool, of which the monaſtery of St. Michael in Boſco is full, I could not but admire the paintings of the library. Each faculty, which, in the libraries, is uſually indicated by an inſcription, is there denoted by two perſons who have excelled in that faculty, and who, lying on the two cornices of a feigned pediment, confer together, either warmly or quietly, ſmartly or dully, according to the character of their works, and the nature of the faculty which they denote. For inſtance, on the pediment over ſcholaſtic philoſophy, the painter has repreſented the *Angelic Doctor* diſputing with the *Subtile Doctor*, on the univerſal *q parte rei*: this piece, by its fire

and

and force of expreſſion, makes the ſpectator, as it were, preſent at the diſpute of Panurgus againſt Taumaſtes the Engliſhman, who argued by geſtures *. Theſe figures, which are as big as life, were performed by Canuti, who unqueſtionably had the firſt ideas of each groupe, from the abbé Pepoli, to whoſe care the library owes this ingenious embelliſhment.

5thly. A Hercules in Freſco in a ſaloon of Graſſi-palace. Lewis Carrachi had painted it on a wall of his houſe, from whence it has been removed, together with a part of the wall, to the place where it now ſtands. This figure alone, which is of a coloſſal ſize, gives the higheſt idea of the artiſt's talents. Time, and perhaps the new cement to which it was fixed, has a little degraded the colouring.

The Madonnas, in moſt of the voids left by the unequal elvation of the porticos along the ſtreets, are generally done by the beſt hands. Bologna is the only place where ſuch valuable pieces are ſeen in the ſtreets.

The profuſion of paintings in this city, made me curious to know what price the Carrachi and their pupils uſed to put on their performances; and I find it next kin to nothing when compared to what they bear at preſent. I ſhall only tell you, as one inſtance, that for the martyrdom of St. Agnes, a picture of equal dimenſions to thoſe of Mai in Notre Dame at Paris, and one of the prime paintings in Italy, Dominichini only received forty zequins, that is about four hundred and fifty livres, according to the preſent currency.

* *Rab. l. 2. l. 19.*

All

All theſe great painters, working from inclination, placed their whole ambition in the perfection of their art, and the judgment of poſterity. Guido is the only one whoſe happineſs it was to enjoy his reputation, on which he raiſed, almoſt unknowingly, a fortune, which he did not keep: he had made a vaſt progreſs in his career, in having early entered on it; he had an amazing eaſe and readineſs, which in his latter days he unhappily abuſed; and the fortune he accumulated he owed to the homage paid by foreigners and ſovereigns to his admired talents. The vexations, enmities, and croſſes which embittered the life of theſe famous men, and actually ſhortened the days of moſt of them, are facts corroborating the many inſtances, that eminent genius and reputation ſo far from being productive of happineſs, very often prove a misfortune. The Carrachi might have lived very happy as taylors, in which profeſſion Lewis was born, and from which he drew away Hannibal and Auguſtine; but then their names would never have been heard of.

In the laſt century, Bologna had a man of that calling, who was particularly famous for his knowledge in painting and immediate diſcernment of the capital merit of pictures, and the different ſtiles of ſchools and maſters. This taylor was likewiſe a mighty politician, and his ſhop the office of intelligence for all the news which the court of Verſailles would have ſpread over Italy: as a connoiſſeur in pictures and a politician, Lewis XIV. allowed him a penſion, and ſuch was his zeal for that prince and his affairs, that he actually died by the ſhock which ſeized him,

on the news of the battle of Ramelies or Hochſtet.

The Bologna ſchool has ſubſiſted down to the preſent time with great honour. Carlo Cignani, who was brought up by Albano, and ſurpaſſed his maſter, lived and handled his pencil till 1719. M. Smith, the Engliſh conſul at Venice, made a collection of this artiſt's original deſigns, and had them engraved under his own eye by John Michael Liotard of Geneva, adding a deſcription of them with explanations, of which, however, ſome particulars relating to Cignani's life are the beſt part. This deſcription came out at Venice in 1749.

In what condition the Carrachi found painting at Bologna, appears by the names which Leandro Alberti has left us of the Bologneſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves there, till the time in which he wrote, that is about the middle of the 16th century. This liſt mentions only five or ſix artiſts, of whoſe talents ſcarce any monuments are now exiſting, being loſt in the multitude of ſuperior performances.

Bologna has an idiom or jargon particular to itſelf, and the common Italian is there ſpoken ſo very uncouthly, that Italians themſelves can ſcarce make any thing of it. In the poem of the Secchia Rapita, are many inſtances of this jargon and diſagreeable pronunciation, for which the *doctors* of the Italian ſtrollers are noted. The late pope himſelf had not got over it, and particularly when in a heat. During the difference with Venice, which warmly intereſted him, at an audience with M. Capello, the Venetian ambaſſador, this

this gentleman frequently interrupted him, both by objections and contrary relations of facts. The pope, little used to such interruptions, said in an angry manner, I suppose you have sometimes been at a play? and what's that to the purpose? bluntly answered M. Capello; that is, replied the pope, you ought to have observed there, *che quando parla il Dottore, tace il Pantalone*, i. e. on the doctor's speaking, Pantaloon *(a)* holds his tongue.

The informations I got at Bologna are chiefly owing to the marquis Grassi, and the abbé Monti's regard to the recommendations I brought them: the marquis, one of the leading men in the council of Bologna, is taken up with well digested schemes for remedying the decay of the trade of his country, by reviving the ancient and introducing new manufactures. Here plenty of the first materials, as it were, invites industry; and what might not be compassed by this industry, if employed on silk and hemp, of which Bologna affords such abundance, yet exports it to the very great emolument of more industrious foreigners? But the papal government and its attendant, continual peace, seem to have thrown Bologna into a torpid insensibility, from which it was so very different in those tumultuous ages, of which I have given a slight sketch in the beginning of this article.

The bustle in which we found the Bologna traders getting ready for Sinigaglia fair, made us curious to see it, especially as it was pretty nearly in our way. The distance between Bologna and Sinigaglia is twelve post stages, but almost double

(a) Theatrical name for a Venetian buffoon.

those

thoſe of France, as are all the Italian ſtages beyond Milan. We made quick work of this journey, in which, at every ſtage, you come to a city; thus ſucceſſively paſſing through Imola, Faenza, Forli, Ceſena, Rimini, Pezaro, Fano, and Sinigaglia, croſſing almoſt at the half way the famous river Rubicon.

ROMANIA.

The above towns make the moſt conſiderable and wealthy part of Romania. Our ſhort ſtay would not allow us a very particular ſurvey of their beauties, of which they are not quite bare; but, ſhort as it was, we were heartily tired of thoſe ſlothful inſolent ſet of ſcoundrels, ſtrutting with ſwords by their ſides along the ſtreets, eſpecially in the firſt four cities.

Both the Romaneſe and the people along the Po are of one common origin with the modern French, being the deſcendants of thoſe Gauls who followed Brennus above two thouſand years ago. The part of Italy confining on the Adriatic ſea, took the names of thoſe provinces of Gaul from whence theſe people came, whether becauſe they ſettled apart as provincial bodies, or whether they were united only fortuitouſly, and the reſemblance of the countries and ſites gave riſe to thoſe appellations. Thus Bologna became the capital of a new Berry *(a)*: One part of Umbria took the name of Senones; the countries near the mouth of the Po, that of the people who had left the mouth of the Loire; and theſe laſt had for neighbours new Manceaux *(b)*.

(a) Boü. *(b)* Cenomani.

To go about tracing any veſtiges of a common origin between the Gauls ſettled in Italy, and the modern French, would be loſt labour: it being now many ages ſince all reſemblance either in manners, cuſtoms, or ſentiment, has been worn out.

Never did they ſo differ as in the party for which one and the other declared in a matter of the utmoſt importance and in like circumſtances. The decay of the imperial prerogative under the deſcendants of Charlemain rouzed the Gauls, now become Lombards and Romaneſe, to recover a liberty which they maintained for the ſpace of three centuries, leſs indeed by open force, than the ſuppleneſs of an ever intriguing policy. The Venetians immediately availed themſelves of the anarchy to ſecure the foundations of their government. The Lombards and Romaneſe, being preſſed by that power, and by the popes, who left no ſtone unturned to make themſelves potentates, and being farther harraſſed, from time to time, by the emperors coming ſword in hand to renew their claims, which had grown obſolete; their only ſhift was, to give themſelves up alternately, according to the times, to one or other of thoſe powers, who however treated them with the conſiderations due to new conqueſts. But no ſooner did the yoke begin to make itſelf felt, than they ſhook it off. The boldeſt ſtrokes often decided theſe revolutions, by means of which theſe Gauls recovered their independency; but ſuch intervals only ſerved the turn of petty tyrants, either foreign or natives, and they were driven out or made away with, either on ſuſpi-

cion

cion or mere humour. In a word, till Julius II. who laid on theſe turbulent people a yoke which they have not yet thought of throwing off, they found means to preſerve a liberty, which they were every inſtant in danger of loſing. The love of independency has ſurvived their liberty, and for its laſt ſecurity has made choice of indolence. Thus under that anarchy, which we know only from wretched accounts *(a)*, the ſtate of Lombardy and Romania was the ſame as that of Greece, under thoſe ſhining æras immortalized by Herodotus and Thucydides

Vixere fortes poſt Agamemnona
Multi : ſed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate ſacro.

The condition of France to which we muſt return, was very different under that ſame anarchy, introduced by the weakneſs into which the regal authority fell under Charlemain's deſcendants. Whilſt uſurpers were ſetting up a new form of government on the ruins of that authority, the love, nay the very notion of liberty was wearing away among the people, who ſeemed to prefer a quiet ſlavery to a liberty ever in arms. The new maſters of the ſeveral provinces found in the Frenchman, now under villenage, a compliance and ſubmiſſion the more wonderful, as that brave peo-

(a) It is unqueſtionably from theſe annals that the arch rogue Rabelais, as Brantome calls him, has forged his *Poltroniſmus rerum Italicarum*, which is in St. Victor's library.

ple,

ple quietly reſtrained their courage, except when the advantage of their maſters called for its exertion.

Whether was this people or that of Lombardy and Romania the happier at that time? a very nice queſtion, the deciſion of which will be more certainly come at, by a knowledge of the peculiar temper and diſpoſition of each of theſe people, than by any moral or political ſpeculations.

The towns, in our paſſage from Bologna to Sinigaglia, are well built and without porticos: in ſome of the churches we ſaw very good paintings; they have likewiſe elegant palaces with ſquares and fountains. Romania has even had a painting-ſchool to itſelf; and for its head counts a Barocci, whoſe compoſitions are not at all inferior to thoſe of the great maſters of Lombardy. This ſchool is ſtill ſubſiſting in a painter ſettled at Fano, and whoſe talents, being without employment in his own country, have happily found a generous patron in the Marckgrave of Bareith, who, without troubling him to remove, has made him his with a penſion. This painter is to work for Germany, Italy being already too full of the performances of ancient maſters to think of encouraging living talents.

All we ſaw at Imola, Faenza, Forli, and Ceſena *(a)*, was the cathedral of Forli, its cupola, painted by Cignani, and the vice-preſident of that city, to whom we applied for juſtice againſt the poſtillion who had brought us from Faenza. His

(a) Rimini, Pezaro, and Fano, we ſaw more at leiſure, paſſing through them again both in our way from Sinigaglia to Venice, and in our return from Venice to Rome.

excellency, who was in his waiſtcoat and a brown linen cap, was then at work in his cloſet about a piece of black gloſſy linen, for a ſummer's waiſtcoat, and he did not leave off for our coming. At length, after a very long delay, vouchſafing to hear us, he cut ſhort the diſpute with a *mezzo termine*, by which part of the poſtillion's *buonamancia*, or fee, went into his people's pockets.

RIMINI.

After paſſing the Rubicon which the Pizatello and another ſmall river claim the honour of repreſenting, we arrived at Rimini over a bridge, all built of blocks of the fineſt white marble. The inſcription, ſtill intire, attributes it to Auguſtus and Tiberius. This bridge, equally worthy of notice for its ſtrength and fine preſervation, is the moſt intire monument of the Auguſtan age. Time, which diſfigures and deſtroys the monuments of mere oſtentation erected in honour of the *Caſa divina*, ſeems to have ſpared this in regard to its deſign and uſefulneſs. It conſiſts of three complete arches, and on proportions recommended by Palladio as models. On each key-ſtone is a ſymbol of the prieſthood or augurate. The *Lituus*, ſeen there in great, is abſolutely the very ſame thing as the croſier of the modern Roman catholic biſhops. Rimini had alſo a harbour, lined by Auguſtus with the like magnificence, but becoming uſeleſs by the withdrawing of the ſea, it was demoliſhed about the middle of the 15th century: Pandolphus Malateſta made uſe of the materials for building St. Francis's church, in

in which it muſt be owned architecture has diſplayed whatever it was capable of before the revival of the fine arts.

Rimini cathedral, which was built on the foundations of a temple of Caſtor and Pollox, is dedicated to St. Columba, to whom Sens in France gave birth, and where ſhe likewiſe died. I could get no information on what account the ancient inhabitants of Rimini choſe this ſaint for their patroneſs: as to examining whether this choice was a conſequence of the continuation of a fraternity between the Senoneſe of France and thoſe of Romania, till the firſt ages of the chriſtian era, that I refer to others.

On leaving Rimini you paſs under a triumphal arch, raiſed in honour of Auguſtus, after a thorough repair of the great roads in Italy, all which concentered at Rimini, where, if I miſtake not, began the *Via triumphalis*. This arch being much ſunk and flattened by time, bears no farther likeneſs to the bridge than in its being of white marble *(a)*.

LA CATOLICA.

On the road from Rimini to Pezaro, lies La Catolica, a village whoſe ſmall church, ſtill in being, is famous as the ſhelter of thoſe biſhops, who, ſeparating from the famous council of Rimini, held a meeting in it to proteſt againſt the deciſions of that council. If the country people

(a) It is known by theſe proportions, in the medal ſtruck in honour of Auguſtus, on the repair of the *Via Flaminia*, with this inſcription, QUOD VIÆ MUN. SUNT.

in Romania may be judged of by thoſe who received us in a cottage of this village, and their neighbours who flocked to ſee us, the ruſtics here certainly differ from the towns people more than in any other country. In theſe good folks, almoſt all fiſhermen, we found a candour, openneſs, and morals which amazed us, and the more, as a total diſintereſtedneſs was among their good qualities. They aſſured us that the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains were to the full as good as themſelves; that they had, one and all, rather die than be like the people in the towns on the great road, whom they call *canaglia maledetta*, an abandoned breed; in a word, that if there be any truly good people in the world, the territory of St. Marino is the place where they are to be found.

From the hill, on the ſummit of which ſtands La Catolica, we were ſhewn the place where once ſtood a city now covered with the ſea, which gained there what it loſt in receding from Rimini.

SAN MARINO.

The road from La Catolica to Pezaro ſkirts the territories of this ſmall republic, concerning the government of which we referred ourſelves to the deſcription given of it by Mr. Addiſon, who went in perſon to get a thorough knowledge of it. This little ſtate was on the point of loſing its liberty, by cardinal Alberoni's enterpriſe againſt it, during his legation in Romania*. The ma-

* About 1750.

nagement

nagement and execution of this project would do honour to the cardinal's bravery, had it been againſt a people, whom a ſlender regard to the Roman purple would not have reſtrained from offering at a defence. The cardinal's red veſtment, and a *Te Deum*, in which he was ſeized with a panic, gave a ſanction to this enterprize: Benedict XIV. diſowned it, yet he kept the original charters of this republic, the cardinal having purloined them; and they were lodged in the Vatican *Archivio*.

I knew at Rome a petty Curial, or limb of the law, born at St. Marino, who had ſacrificed his ſmall fortune purely to recover the moſt eſſential of thoſe charters, which accordingly he had got ſafely conveyed back among the records of his country. I likewiſe frequently ſaw at Rome, among the Minims of *la Trinitá di monte*, another member of the ſame republic, the very counter-part of Rabelais's Parnurgus, a complete maſter of the Latin and Greek, and even of the vulgar Greek; well verſed in geometry, chymiſtry, and eſpecially botany; he had travelled over the greateſt part of Aſia, even as far as the kingdom of Thibet, always footing it, and without equipage or ſo much as money. He lived at Rome from hand to mouth, placing all happineſs in liberty and chearfulneſs, which he looked upon as incompatible with dependance. The firſt time I ſaw him was in the laboratory of *la Trinitá di monte*, where, with all the vehemence of pulpit elocution, he was holding forth, facing the apothecary of the convent, who, according to the conſtitution of thoſe places, was one of the ſociety,

on miracles and converſions, the marvellous of which increaſing in a climax, at length ſet the pious brother a weeping and ſobbing moſt cordially. In the opinion of this odd creature, the world afforded nothing comparable to ancient Rome, except his dear republic of St. Marino: it was indeed the only thing he could ſpeak of with any ſerioufneſs. He propoſed, after a few more perambulations, to go and end his days in his Ithaca, and devote his abilities and diſcoveries in promoting its happineſs.

P E Z A R O.

This city was the moſt delightful part of the duchy of Urbino: Julius II. diſmembered this little territory from his conqueſts in Romania, to make a fief of it for his family; it was, at that time, ten leagues in length and five in breadth, of which the Adriatic was the baſe. By the extinction of Julius's family *(a)*, this duchy in 1630 devolved again to the holy ſee. In that brilliant age, which the Italians diſtinguiſh by the name of the *cinque cento*, the court of Urbino was one of the principal ornaments of Italy. A genius, an artiſt, a gentleman, was ſure of being welcome every where, after the happineſs of having pleaſed a court, whoſe eſteem was the ſtandard of reputation in every kind. Count Balthazar Caſtiglione's *Cortigiano (b)*, i. e. courtier, gives us the

(a) La Rovere.

(b) This work, too little known in France, where Lewis XII. and Francis I. encouraged the author to go on with it, contains the moſt pure principles of morality and policy, enlivened with all the elegance and facetiouſneſs of the court of Urbino.

code

code of its gallantry at that time. A delicate taſte for arts and ſciences, a well digeſted knowledge of the world in general, and of both ſexes, chearfulneſs, decent jocularity, and all the graces ariſing from refined urbanity, conſtituted the characteriſtic of that ſhining court, which uſed to ſpend the winter at Pezaro, in elegant palaces, of which little more than melancholy remains are now to be ſeen.

This city appeared to me almoſt as large as Rimini, but better built, and more populous; it had a bad character in ancient times, from the malignance of its air in ſummer. Catullus uſed to call it *moribundam ſedem*; but its preſent inhabitants ſay, that the draining of the neigbouring marſhes has long ſince removed that diſtemperature. Its figs keep up their former reputation; they are certainly the beſt in this part of Italy.

The churches in Pezaro have ſome pieces by Paul Veroneſe and Guido, with ſeveral by Barrocci, who was contemporary with the former, prior to the latter, and inferior to neither in colouring and graces. Guido has not a ſingle grace which is not to be found again in Barrocci's *Annunciation* in the cathedral of Pezaro, and in his *Circumciſion*, the chief ornament of another church in the ſame city. The calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew, in a very pretty ſmall church, adds the force of expreſſion and the brilliancy of execution to all the graces the ſubject would admit, and theſe heightened by tints which time ſeems to renew and improve. We were told that this painter uſed to take his angels and virgins from a brother and ſiſter, who, if art has

not added to nature, were celeſtial beauties indeed.

I ſpent an evening here at the coffee-houſe, where the company conſiſted of elderly nobles of this country, talking about foreign news; the alliance lately ſtruck up between France and Auſtria was a long topic for their political talents. A very old commander of an order, next to whom I happened to ſit, and who had quietly liſtened to the whole, aſked me whether I had ever ſeen any thing of France; and on my anſwering in the affirmative, whether Quebec was not near Bourdeaux, as he imagined? without trying whether he was in jeſt or earneſt: I replied, that Quebec had lain out of my way, but ſince he imagined it to be in France it certainly muſt.

The antiquities of Pezaro were ſome years ago engraved with explanations, by one of its inhabitants, and make a folio intitled *Marmora Piſaurenſia*; it is very well printed, and at Pezaro.

The road through Pezaro and Fano, from Rimini to Sinigaglia, is very pleaſant and eaſy along the ſhore, one wheel in the ſea and the other on the ſand, which the water conſolidates as it wets it. The ſhore is bordered by ſteep rocks, againſt which, in tempeſtuous weather, the ſea beats; and it being ſuch at our departure from Pezaro, we could not keep along the ſhore. On our returning into the *Via Flaminia*, we paſſed through a very unequal, fruitful, and well cultivated country; and which, in our progreſs, preſented us with a continued variety of moſt delightful landſcapes.

FANO.

FANO.

This city likewiſe belonged to the duchy of Urbino: its preſent name is a remainder of that of *fanum fortunæ* given it by the Romans. In many reſpects it reſembles Pezaro, but is more populous, and has what Pezaro wants, one of the fineſt opera theatres in Italy. Its churches abound in pictures by the greateſt maſters of the Bologna ſchool. St. Joſeph's marriage, in the firſt chapel on the right-hand in coming into the cathedral, pleaſed me beyond any I ever ſaw of Guerchini. The compoſition is quite ſimple, *nihil habere ex ingenio videtur*; but ſuch ſublimity, and ſuch grandeur in this ſimplicity! the principal ſubject conſiſts of the high-prieſt, the Virgin and St. Joſeph. It was unqueſtionably to make it more projecting, that the painter has introduced in the deepening, ſome mean perſons ſpitefully leering at the ceremony. In the ſame church is a chapel decorated with ſmall pictures of Dominichini, repreſenting the myſteries of the Roſary. But theſe pieces, no more than one of Guido's in this cathedral, did not take with me any thing like that of Guerchini.

In the church of the Phillipini, or fathers of the oratory, built about the middle of the laſt century by a man of wealth, who had taken the habit of the oratory, is a moſt valuable collection of paintings, collected by the founder; a printed liſt of them is given. There are ſeveral by Guido, but part of them ſcarce to be known, having been disfigured by a dauber, who was employed to clean

clean them, and who, after ſcraping them, put the finiſhing hand to ſpoiling them by his preſumptuous retouches. That of the great altar, being leſs expoſed to moiſture than the others, luckily did not ſtand in need of repair, and thus eſcaped the general ravage. It is a capital compoſition, of the ſame labour and value as the greateſt pieces of that maſter to be ſeen at Bologna. There is likewiſe another very well preſerved in the falſe window on the left.

The ſight of all the beauties and curioſities in Pezaro I owed to the politeneſs of a friendly prieſt, whom I accidentally fell in with at the cathedral. He carried me every where, and informed me of every thing in the moſt obliging manner; he even inſiſted on treating me at the coffee-houſe. I found by his converſation which entirely correſponded with this uncommon courteſy, that he was *geniale Franceſe*, a hearty Frenchman. For in all the cities of Italy and the very villages, the European powers have very warm ſticklers, who are generally ſuch from father to ſon, and downright hate thoſe of a contrary party. The ancient regard of theſe people for martial atchievments ſtill animates them, ſo that Lewis XIV. by the greatneſs of his projects and the rapidity of his conqueſts was become the univerſal favourite among them.

The quarrels of theſe different parties are to Italy, as the religious quarrels in France, England, and Germany. An Italian in the French intereſt deteſts the Engliſh and their partizans,

as

as heartily as a good French Moliniſt deteſts Port-Royal and the Janſeniſts, and *vice verſa*. Theſe parties however have been put to a kind of nonplus, by the unforeſeen alliance between Auſtria and France; yet has it not yet reconciled the *geniali* of thoſe two powers, moſt of them retaining their former affections. In the preſent war, enthuſiaſm has formed a conſiderable party for the king of Pruſſia; in ſhort, the wars of the European princes are to the Italians pretty nearly what the ſhews of gladiators were among the Romans. They amuſe the people's idleneſs; and the ſovereigns foment theſe parties, as diverting their attention from objects which more nearly concern them, according to the maxim, *divide & impera*. See the article of Ravenna in the ſequel.

Fano has likewiſe a triumphal arch of white marble, erected to Auguſtus. It was thirty cubits high, but is now half ruined by the artillery of Paul II. in the ſiege which Fano ſuſtained againſt that pontiff in 1463. Some very uncertain ruins are ſhewn as remains of that temple of fortune, from which the city received its name.

At the ſpace of a league from Fano, the Flaminian way croſſes the *Metaurus*, now the *Metro*, in the very ſpot where Aſdrubal was worſted by the Romans.

> *Teſtis Metaurum flumen & Aſdrubal*
> *Devictus.*

This River had little or no water, though we croſſed it at its entrance into the ſea. The pompous

pous Silius Italicus has dedicated to it this inflated verſe.

Rapidaſque ſonanti
Vortice contorquens undas & ſaxa Metaurus.

Let us now caſt an eye on the preſent ſtate of trade, in that part of Romania which we have travelled over.

Of the firſt four cities between Bologna and the Rubicon, Forli is the only one whoſe inhabitants have any inclination for work: their chief buſineſs is wax, linen, and umbrellos, with which they ſupply the far greater part of Italy. At Sinigaglia fair we ſaw a dealer, who alone diſpoſes of at leaſt three thouſand umbrellos every fair. Faenza, as if ſatisfied with the honour of having given name to the finer ſort of earthen ware, makes at preſent but very little, and that likewiſe very bad.

The manufactures of Rimini and Pezaro ſcarce ſuffice for home conſumption; they were relinquiſhed to the Engliſh, for the advancement of another kind of domeſtic induſtry. The ſilk, which is ſtill gathered in the duchy of Urbino *, and in the upper part of Romania, is bought up by the traders of theſe two cities, who for this purpoſe have entered into terms with the Engliſh, in which Italian ſubtilty ſeems to have forgot itſelf. They remit theſe ſilks to England, and the enſuing year the Engliſh bring them in return ſtuffs of their manufactures, ſuch as mohairs and ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, with a profit for the workmanſhip; and all, according to the conſcience

* See the obſervations on the Milaneſe trade.

ſcience of the Engliſh, who thus get both ſilk and money from Romania. The Romaneſe dealers perhaps may find a preſent profit in this meaſure, but it can proceed only from the very low price of the raw ſilks, which are brought to their warehouſes; in the mean time the cultivator, diſheartened by this reduction of price, makes his mulberry-trees give place to others of more profit, *feliciores conſerit arbores.* The ſilk harveſts diminiſh daily, and thus in time Romania will be deprived of a branch of employment, which, ſhould induſtry, by any unexpected viciſſitude happen to revive here, it will bitterly lament. The Lyons traders, who call theſe ſilks *ſoies d' Outremer*, beyond-ſea ſilks, and who are fully acquainted with their goodneſs, may worm the Engliſh out of this trade, or at leaſt come in for a ſhare: but the Romaneſe ſay, that they have very good reaſon for dealing with them only for ready money.

Fano has rejected the propoſals of the Engliſh, making uſe at home of a great part of its ſilks, in a narrow ſtuff called *ferendine*, which is commonly well manufactured, and makes very creditable and likewiſe very ſerviceable linings; the French, I believe, have ſome notion of it.

The fairs are the chief object of the active commerce of all theſe cities; their conſumption trade is for the greater part carried on by Jews, who find the ſweets of it. In this trade England furniſhes its woollens, and the Swiſs their linens, the ſale of which enables them to purchaſe the Venetian cottons. The French manufactures are abſolutely

abſolutely unknown, and of courſe make no part of this commerce.

SINIGAGLIA.

Sinigaglia has retained the name of the Senoneſe, ſettled in this part of ancient Umbria. *Senonum de nomine Senon*, ſays *Silius Italicus*. It belonged to the dukes of Urbino, who had ſheltered it from the inſults of Turks and pirates by ſome fortifications ſtill ſubſiſting. In 1758 its circuit was enlarging, in order to which its works on the weſt ſide were raſed, and new ramparts built like the former, which the labour of pulling them down ſhewed to be of a very ſtrong conſtruction.

The enlargement of this city, on account of the vaſt concourſe of people at the fair time, and the foreigners, whom the great buſineſs done at this fair might induce to ſettle here, had long been neceſſary, ſo that we muſt ſuppoſe there were ſome political reaſons againſt it.* The difference between Pope Benedict and Venice having diminiſhed the weight of theſe reaſons, the apoſtolic chamber made choice of that juncture to take the works in hand, and very briſkly were they carrying on under Monſignor Merlini preſident of Urbino, who had ſignalized himſelf by an expedition againſt the ſmugglers; an expedition which had determined Pope Benedict to ſuppreſs the farming of tobacco in his dominions, and bring this article again into the common courſe of trade.

The

* See the article of Venice.

The air of this city, however, cannot boaſt of more ſalubrity than that of all this coaſt of the Adriatic. Boccace ſpeaking of a young woman, *che non mai era ſenza mal d' occhi, con un color verde e giallo*, adds *che pareva che non à Fieſole ma à Sinigaglia haveſſe fatta la ſtate. Nov. 4, giorn. 8. i. e.* "Who was continually troubled with ſore eyes, "and her complexion green and yellow," adds, "that ſhe looked as if ſhe had ſpent the ſummer "at Sinigaglia and not at Fieſole."

Sinigaglia affords nothing remarkable either in its public or private edifices. We indeed ſaw ſome paintings by Barrocci, and, in a ſmall church in the high ſtreet, a picture quite new, which ſtruck us extremely, by the exact reſemblance of St. Charles, the perſon it repreſented, to a French prelate, whom we had heard preach at Paris before the aſſembly of the clergy.

We reached Sinigaglia time enough for the opening of the fair, which holds the eight laſt days of July. The ſhore, along which we had come from Fano, was lined with culverines, cannon, loop-holes, old arquebuſes, all pointed towards the ſea; likewiſe with parties of ſoldiers in barracks at regular diſtances, beſides ſome ſhips of the pope lying in the offing. In ſhort, nothing had the apoſtolic chamber omitted for the ſafety of the fair.

Mr. Merlini was there in perſon, and kept open houſe for the neighbouring nobility. All this nobility, men, women and children, for whom this fair is a party of pleaſure, throws a pleaſing variety and a kind of tranquillity amidſt the perpetual buſtle of crowds of people of all nations, eagerly looking

looking out for one another, or hurried in removing goods from the harbour or road to the city, from the city to the harbour or road; in unpacking or packing up, in embarking or landing: not a ſingle beaſt of carriage or draught is made uſe of for this buſineſs; the whole is done by *facchini*, or porters, who, with equal dexterity and ſtrength, carry the greateſt burdens whether in weight or bulk. This ſight puts one in mind of a fire, with multitudes got together, ſome quenching the flames and others clearing the houſes. The ſtreets are all ſhaded by tents hung acroſs, and wetted from time to time; and, for the conveniency of carriage, the ground is boarded. Palaces, houſes, the whole city is a warehouſe; the harbour, the quays, the ſtreets are one continued ſhop, and, in the midſt of them, a thouſand little ambulatory ſhops moving backwards and forwards. What ſweating the heat of the dog-days, amidſt ſuch buſtle and ſuch a crowd, and in ſuch a climate, muſt occaſion, may eaſily be imagined. The ditches, the glacis, and the outworks of the city are covered with tents, huts, kitchens, and horſes ſtanding at pickets; and in every little cottage are ſtowed ſeveral families. The people of faſhion ſhelter themſelves in the coffee-houſes, where abbes are always gallanting the ladies, and theſe tricked up in all their finery in the French mode.

The baſis of this fair is formed by the iſlands and all the coaſts of the Adriatic, Sicily, and a part of the Archipelago. The Albanians and Archipelago Greeks bring light jackets, waiſtcoats, ſhirts, caps, babouches or large puppets, wax,

wax, honey, &c. An Albanian veſſel had a lading of tar in goat-ſkins, the greater part of which, whether ill made or rotten, burſt in bringing them from the harbour to the road; ſo that this part of the fair was all over tar, and crowded with people ſcrambling for it.

Nigrior Illyrica tunc pice portus erat.

The Greeks ſpeak Italian, or make uſe of the *Lingua Franca:* a harſh compound of Greek, Italian, and Provençal, the three ſmootheſt languages now in being. By their air and countenance they appear as good people as one would wiſh to deal with: every one lay dozing on the pavement, his body being a kind of fence to his little ſhop, and thus ſold away without changing his ſituation. In all other dealers the national air might be diſtinguiſhed at firſt ſight. The Lombard, the Swiſs, and the Lyoneſe, called to every one that paſſed by to ſee what they liked, eagerly diſplayed all his ſhop, exacted beyond all reaſon, but very complaiſantly thanked the leaſt cuſtomer. The Hollander was wholly taken up with the diſpoſition of his ſhop, placing, and bruſhing and cleaning every piece. The Romaneſe and Sicilian, leaning with his belly againſt his counter, with his hat thruſt down to his eyes, and his hands acroſs in the ſleeves of the oppoſite arm, was ruminating on his accounts. The ſullen and haughty Engliſhman ſhewed what goods were aſked him, at the ſame time naming the price, and, on any appearance of haggling, haſtily put them up again, and took t'other turn in his ſhop.

I saw two Frenchmen there, one an abbe, taken up, like us, with viewing the fair; the other having bought a fillet of a pretty Grecian woman, was for adding to it two small ribbons, and desired her to favour him so far as to sew them to the two ends of the large ribbon. These words were no sooner out of his mouth, than out came, over the Grecian beauty's shoulder, a brawny arm naked to the elbow, holding up to the abbe's nose a fist with the fore-finger erect, and at the same time accompanied with a fierce voice, *Signor no*, from her indignant husband, to whom that ugly arm belonged.

On the third day of the fair the Venetian commander of the Gulph appeared off Sinigaglia in his proper ship, accompanied with some smaller gallies. Every year he makes this appearance, under pretence of protecting the fair, but rather to receive a settled fee paid him by the apostolic chamber, and which by Venice is looked on as an acknowledgment from the pope of its sovereignty over the Gulph. In a pretty keen expostulation about this fee, a pope asking the Venetian ambassador where were the republic's vouchers for the sovereignty of the Gulph; they are to be found, holy father, answered he, on the back of Constantine's grant. Formerly the commander of the Gulph came ashore at Sinigaglia with a numerous retinue, and spent two or three days there, during which the governor was to entertain him as a sovereign. By a new agreement, the governor goes aboard of the commander, and settles with him there: by this agreement every body is a gainer; the Venetians fit out but a very slight squadron, and

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it only ſhews itſelf at a diſtance; and the governor is rid of the incumbrance and expence of entertaining the commander and his train at Sinigaglia. If any are loſers it is the mere ſpectators, this agreement having made a conſiderable diminution in the variety of the ſhow.

We heard at the fair a ſmart ſaying of Benedict XIV. but, to underſtand it rightly, it muſt be known that, in Italy, children are ſtill taught their firſt leſſons of politeneſs in a book of the famous Monſignor de la Caſa, intitled, *Il Galatino*; and, by way of reproaching any rudeneſs, the perſon is told that he has forgot his *Galatino*. Now Benedict had ſent, by a prelate born at Sinigaglia, a ſet of child-bed linen, on which he had pronounced his benediction, for a new born prince in one of the firſt courts of Europe. This prelate, whether ignorant of the ceremonial, or from deſign perhaps ſuggeſted to him, had diſcharged his meſſage without viſiting the lord-almoner of that court, the very firſt perſon whom he ought to have viſited. The almoner complained of ſuch neglect to the king; the king wrote very earneſtly about it to his ambaſſador at Rome; and the ambaſſador immediately demanded an audience, in which he did not ſpare the Sinigaglian prelate. Benedict, after uſing all the reaſons which he could think of to excuſe or palliate his meſſenger's blunder, and the ambaſſador ſtill ſtorming, he ſaid to him, "But, my lord ambaſſador, be ſo "good as to tell me, is the council of Trent ad-"mitted in France." The ambaſſador, conceiving the drift of this was to call another cauſe, and puzzle him about the object of his audience, endeavoured

deavoured to ſhift it off; but the pope ſtill ſticking to the queſtion, the ambaſſador at length told him, that the council of Trent, as he knew better than himſelf, was not admitted in France; "Neither, my lord ambaſſador," returned the pope, "is the *Galatino* at Sinigaglia; *Ne anche a Sinigaglia il Galatino.*" This jeſt put an end to the difficulty, and the lord almoner, to whom it was reported, quite forgot the Italian prelate's folly, remembring only the witticiſm which it had occaſioned.

PREVIOUS to our returning into Romania, and viſiting the weſtern coaſt of the Adriatic, and thoſe delicious territories which are divided between the pope and the republic of Venice, I ſhall exhibit a picture of this fine country in the middle age, as drawn by Muratori from contemporary hiſtorians and monuments. His accurate account of the culture and population of this part of Italy, in thoſe ages which are but little known, affords a large field for political, moral, and even phyſical reflections, which I leave to the reader. From this ſpecimen, Muratori's elaborate work on the antiquities of Italy in the middle age may be eſtimated; an immenſe work indeed, having produced thirty-four folio volumes and twelve quartos. It has been re-aſſumed by the author himſelf in ſeventy-five diſſertations, in which every political, civil and religious cuſtom and uſage of thoſe dark times is elucidated. The ſequel is an extract, or very free tranſlation of the twenty-firſt of thoſe learned diſſertations.

"Calamities

"Calamities of all kinds had laid open Italy to the Lombards, who ſettled there in 668. Three years before a deadly peſtilence, which ſwept away mankind by thouſands, had turned many of the towns and large tracts of the country into deſarts. This peſtilence had been ſucceeded by famine: *non erat tunc virtus Romanis (id eſt Italis) ut poſſent reſiſtere*, ſays Paul the deacon, *quia & peſtilentia quæ ſub Narſete facta eſt, plurimos in Venetia & Liguria extinxerat*; *& poſt annum ubertatis, fames nimia ingruens Italiam vaſtabat*. The ſettlement of the Lombards completed theſe calamities: pillaged churches, murdered miniſters, deſtroyed cities, the maſſacre of thoſe whom the peſtilence and famine had ſpared, were monuments of this conqueſt, and of that ſanguinary war which decided it. Cleph, the ſecond king of theſe barbarians, added to thoſe ſufferings, putting to death or driving out of his dominions ſuch of the inhabitants at whoſe power and wealth he took umbrage.

Theſe devaſtations might have been repaired by peace and tranquility; but, ſo early as the year 590, the Lombards being at once attacked both by the Conſtantinopolitan Greeks, who reconquered Modena, Mantua, and Altino, and by the French, who afterwards routed them, ſhed torrents of Italian blood to maintain their advantages, and, to weaken their enemies, ſtuck at no means which a blind fury ſuggeſted to them. By expreſs order of king Agilulfus, Padua was ſet on fire and totally laid in aſhes: Cremona, Briſcello, and other towns underwent the like treatment, only becauſe they continued in obedience to the

emperors their ancient ſovereigns: at length, all that remained to thoſe ancient maſters of Italy was the country of the duchy of Rome, the exarcharte of Ravenna, Naples, and ſome maritime towns: and ſtill the Lombards, in revenge for their not being able to add thoſe countries to their conqueſts, uſed to commit very terrible inroads on them. Rome itſelf, Rome, which had ſo long been miſtreſs of the univerſe, felt their rage. There is an epigram of the ſixth century on the declenſion of her fortune, in which that retrogradation is repreſented by this line

Roma tibi ſubitô motibus ibit amor.

A line without any apparent ſenſe, but with this odd kind of merit, that the words are the very ſame in reading it backward.

Such was the appearance of Italy under that revolution which ſettled the Lombards there; the condition in which the civil wars of Cæſar and Pompey had left it, as exaggerated by Lucan, was at that time its real condition *

Horrida dumetis, multoſque inarata per annos
Heſperia eſt, deſuntque manus poſcentibus arvis,
Rarus & antiquis habitator in urbibus errat.

Thus was accompliſhed Cerealis's prediction in Tacitus, a prediction which, to the misfortune of human nature, continues to be verified in our times. *Pulſis Romanis, nihil aliud quâm bella omnium inter ſe gentium video.*---

* Lib. 2.

The

The air of Italy, and intercourſe with the remainder of the conquered people, at length ſoftened the ferocity of the conquerors, peace and tranquility took place in the center of the new kingdom of Italy, and the greateſt evils of war fell only on the frontiers. Civilized morals produced good laws, and the citizens were regulated by a wholſome and ſtrict police; in a word, the public ſafety was ſo well ſettled, that the traveller, without any apprehenſions or precautions, might carry his purſe in his open hand. At firſt the old and new inhabitants of Lombardy were divided by the Arianiſm of the Lombards, and an inequality in the impoſition of the tributes, till the converſion of the Lombards, and the equal aſſeſſment of the impoſts, removing all difference between the natives and the foreigners, they coaleſced into one people and one ſtate.

The conqueſt of this kingdom, by the French, fixed its tranquility, promoted population, and introduced all the advantages attending on peace. This happy condition laſted all the time that Charlemain's lineage reigned over Lombardy. The death of Charles the Fat, and the conteſts of Guy and Berrenger, kindled new diſturbances, and theſe expoſed it to the incurſions of the Hungarians, who for ſeveral years ravaged it at pleaſure. Theſe calamities laſted till Otho the Great, the firſt of the Germans, who added the crown of Lombardy to that of the empire.

To eſtimate the loſſes of the human ſpecies under all theſe revolutions, let us take a view of the population of Italy at that time.

The country was very thinly peopled, the mountains and part of the levels being then overrun with forefts. The Lombards uſed to call every wood *Wald*, which the Italians, in public writings, expreſſed by *Gayum*, *Gazium*, *Gagium*, *Waldum*, *Gualdum*. Ughelli has a record in 774, by which Arrichis, prince of Benevento, gives to the abbey of St. Sophia the church or pariſh of St. Peter, ſituated in *Gayo*----the church of St. Abundus likewiſe ſtanding in *Gayo*----and in another wood, or *Gayo*, a piece of ground two miles in length and one broad. In a diploma of Charlemain, preſerved by the ſame compiler, this prince gives to the church of Regio, *Gayum noſtrum quod in Luciaria conjacet & nunc noviter excolitur*. The Lombards had farther brought into Italy the words *foreſta*, *Brolium*, or *Broïlum*, of the ſame meaning, unleſs *brolium* more determinately ſignified what we now call a *park*. Charlemain in one of his capitularies of 800 ſays, *Lucos noſtros quos Brogilos vulgus appellat*. The French formerly uſed in the ſame ſenſe, *Gaye*, *Breüil* and *Broſſe*; but *forêt* is the only word retained.

We have ſtill a grant of king Aſtolphus in 752 to Lopecin, biſhop of Modena, of a wood of five hundred acres, *Sylva jugis numero quingentis*, joining on three ſides to the woods of a royal demeſne, *Gayo Noſtro*; and on the fourth to the river Scultenna, the preſent Panaro. This wood, which appertained to the domaine of the kings of Lombardy, had left its name to a conſiderable eſtate, which ſince was incorporated into the demeſne of the city of Modena. Accordingly, by an act of the corporation of that city, in the year

1255,

1255, ſeveral lands, one of which is called *Gazio*, were ordered to be meaſured and improved. I make no doubt but the preſent wood of Nonantola, was a part of the ancient royal *Gayum*.

That theſe foreſts are of a very ancient ſtanding, may be inferred from a paſſage of Sidonius Apollinaris, who, ſpeaking of the Lambro, the Adda, the Adige, the Mincio, and other rivers in Lombardy where he had travelled, ſays, that the country adjoining to thoſe rivers was covered with foreſts of oak and maple, *quernis acerniſque nemoribus paſſim veſtiebantur*, of which, at preſent, not the leaſt footſtep is remaining.

To the woods with which part of Italy was over-run, muſt be added the uninhabitable fens along the beds of moſt of the rivers, and the lakes and ſhoals among which the Po and the Adige intermixed. Inſtead of theſe lakes and fens, we now ſee fertile and delightful tracts, the happy effect of the works undertaken and executed for reducing and containing theſe rivers in their bed. Had antiquity left us maps of all theſe watery places, by comparing them with their preſent ſtate, an exact eſtimate might be found of the produce of thoſe works *.

We ſhould find that, under the Roman empire, the *Emilia*, *Flaminia*, and the whole Venetian territory, were no more than only ſo many drowned, uncultivated, and uninhabited tracts; and ſuch in the times of Vitruvius †, Strabo ‡, and Herodian, were thoſe fruitful countries which now ſo much delight the eye between Aquileia, Altino, and Ravenna. Strabo adds, that Breſcia, Mantua,

* Ep. 5. l. 1. † Vitr. l. 1. cap. 14. ‡ Strab. l. 5.

Reggio,

Reggio, and Como, ſtood amidſt fens; and that all the towns of the Venetian territory were entirely ſurrounded by the ſea, like Venice at preſent, or that they had the ſea on one ſide, and on the other lakes, which in Herodian's time were ſtill navigable from Altino to Ravenna; and thus all the intermediate country, of which Ferrara, then not known, and its rich territory, are now a part, had only frogs for its inhabitants.

Theſe creatures were naturally free of Ravenna, according to the teſtimonies of Martial;

Meliuſque ranæ garriunt Ravennates.

Of Silius Italicus, who delineates the ſituation of Ravenna in theſe two lines *.

Quaque gravi remo limoſis ſegniter undis
Lenta paludoſæ proſcindunt ſtagna Ravennæ.

Laſtly, of Sidonius Apollinaris, who rallying his friend Candidianus, then recently arrived in that city, ſays to him: *te municipalium ranarum loquax turba circumſilit----Vide qualis ſit civitas quæ faciliùs territorium poteſt habere, quàm terram.* Periodical alluvions have in proceſs of time given to this town what it then wanted; a very fat and fruitful ſoil, a league in extent, now ſeparating it from the ſea, which formerly waſhed it.

Claſſe near Ravenna, a place of importance in the time of the Romans, whoſe fleet, for the ſecurity of the Adriatic ſea, lay there, is two leagues from the ſea, which once formed its har-

* Lib. 1. Ep. 8.

bour

bour at the mouth of the *Savio*, now turned into another channel by that accretion.

At the ſame period of time Bologna and Modena ſuffered extremely, by the ſtanding waters which covered part of their territory, and the reſt was all woods, ſo that a communication with theſe two cities was doubly dangerous *.

Let us particularly go on with the ſtate of Modena. St. Ambroſe, in a letter written about the year 388, imitating the famous paſſage of Sulpitius's letter to Cicero, ſays to Fauſtinus: *de Bononienſi veniens urbe, a tergo Claternam, ipſam Bononiam, Mutinam, Regium derelinquebas: in dextrâ erat Brixillum, à fronte occurrebat Placentia*, &c. *Te igitur tot ſemirutarum urbium cadavera terrarumque ſub eodem conſpectu expoſita funera non admonent*, &c.

Such was the ſtate of Italy after the tranſlation of the empire to Conſtantinople. The ſubſequent invaſion of the Lombards, and their continual wars with the Greeks, of which all the territories near the Exarcharte were the theatre, could not better the condition of thoſe deſolate countries. Modena, then a frontier of the Lombards, was in time deſtroyed and forſaken, and the remainder of its diſtreſſed inhabitants removed to Citta-Nova, then recently built by king Luitprand, at ſome diſtance from it. To this emigration they were forced by the rivers which watered the territories of Modena, and being left to themſelves, when, by the misfortunes of the times, the works for confining them within their beds

* V. Galbæ epiſt. ad. Cic. inter. famil. l. 10. & Appienus. bel. civil. l. 3.

were

were no longer kept up, overflowed the country, and ruſhed into the city to ſuch a degree, that, what with the ſand, gravel, and ſtones, from the Appennine hills, which every inundation lodged there, the ground was raiſed ſeveral fathom.

In the moſt ancient draughts of donations, ſales, and leaſes, we meet with nothing but woods, fens, ponds, *piſcaria*, and lakes *(a)*. To theſe informations may be added thoſe collected on the ſame ſubject by count Sylveſtri, *de' Nobili di* Rovigo, in the deſcription which he has publiſhed *delle paludi Adriache.*

All theſe ſhoals and fens thus filling up by degrees, both by the mud which the ſea heaped up in thoſe with which it communicated, and by the various ſubſtances brought thither by the rivers, in time little iſlands were ſeen to riſe in the middle of the lakes and fens; and to which inhabitants were invited by the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, the conveniency of fiſhing, and the ſafe ſhelter from incurſions of robbers who infeſted both land and ſea: the firſt dwelling in theſe iſlands were only ſtraw huts.

This was for a long time the covering of thoſe houſes, which the magnificence of later ages have replaced with palaces. In thoſe times of calamity it was very ſeldom that houſes were covered with tiles, which in the ancient writings are called *Coppi*. *Coppata domus* meant no more than a tiled houſe, and not, as Du Cange thought, a houſe of which the roof terminated in a cupola.

(a) Muratori mentions twelve of theſe maps, and ſpecifies the terms.

Among

Among the monuments of the Ambrosian basilic collected by Puricelli, is one of the year 1201, concerning a *Lobia*, or public portico, which, though adjoining to that very basilic, was covered only with straw; hence those frequent fires in the 11th and 12th centuries, destroying, in a few hours the greatest cities. Under this calamity successively fell Milan, Placentia, Bologna and Modena. A chronicle of Padua inserted among the *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, says, that in 1174, a fire in that city destroyed two thousand six hundred and fourteen houses, *which at that time were built only of wood, and the covering thatch.* In the more remote ages we meet with houses intirely built with straw. Guy bishop of Modena, in 963 gave in copy-hold such a house, *casa palliaricia.* In 1105 Milan, since so full of stately edifices, was reduced to ashes. On this terrible conflagration Galvano Fiamma observes *, "that, "at that time, the houses of Milan were not sup- "ported and parted by walls, but only by "hurdles and compacted straw, *ex-cratibus & pa-* "*leis*; that any little fire, in an instant, spread "all over the city, which occasioned an order "against lighting a fire in any house, *flante vento*, "in windy weather." This description, which includes the whole of Milan, perhaps should be reduced to the greater part of it.

As Italy increased in wealth, the straw roofs, mementos of its former poverty, gave way to tiles; and this is expressly enjoined by the statute of Ferrara in 1288, with a fine of twenty sols on delinquents.

* Manip. flor. c. 156.

Let

Let us now return to thoſe new iſlands, which gradually ſpreading have formed the territories of Altino, Ravenna, &c. The alluvions, which formed their firſt connection, were called *dorſi* or *doſſi*, *poleſini*, *corregii* or *corregie*, no doubt from their long and narrow form reſembling ſtraps of leather. In 871 the emperor Lewis II. ratified, in favour of the biſhop of Reggio, the donation of the iſland of Suzaria, with its dependencies, *quæ ab hominibus Pagi vocantur pollicini.* According to the expreſſions of the abovementioned ſtatute of Ferrara, among other functions of the podeſtat, he bound himſelf by oath to take particular care, *quod pollicini diviſi aggerentur ita quod per ipſos aggeres quilibet eques & pedes libere poſſit ire.* The word *Corregio* or *Corrigia*, in the ſenſe here underſtood, was very ancient in Italy. In the *Scriptores rei agrariæ* it is defined, *mons qui in medio uſque ad jugalem permittet:* and this word was added to the name of moſt of the villages built on thoſe ſlips or banks, from which the waters had ebbed away. Among many other places, an act of Garſendonius biſhop of Mantua, in the year 1180, mentions the following: *Corrigium Gaminetæ, Corrigium Trebatii, Corrigium de Languſculo, ſcala dividens unum corrigium ab alio. Flumen Arconinæ & lacus Taurus divdit alia corrigia.* Likewiſe, among the eſtates given in 999 by St. Adelaïda, the emperor Otho IIId's grandmother, to the monaſtery of St. Saviour at Pavia, are *Corrigia in Tengola, Dorſum fraxanariæ, Corrigia Boniventi.* Other *Corrigia* are mentioned in the will of the marquis Almeric in 948. To conclude, in all appearance the town of *Corregio*, which gave birth

to

to the celebrated painter ſo called, and which, after having been a long time under its own particular lords, now belongs to the houſe of Eſte, owes its appellation to ſuch dried prominences on which its firſt houſes were built.

In the reign of Frederick I. the whole territory of Ferrara was interſected, and the greater part of it conſiſted of impracticable fens. Radevicus, in the hiſtory of that emperor, relates under the year 1158, that his forces penetrated to the very walls of Ferrara: "which," adds the hiſtorian, "ſeemed incredible, the marſhes, by the reflux of the "waters of the Po into them, being to this city "an inſurmountable fence, from which it inſults its neighbours and mocks their menaces." Theſe fens are now no more, and have been ſuperſeded by a fertile tract of land, a kind of creation, for which Ferrara is beholden to the works undertaken and executed by the orders and under the inſpection of its ſovereigns of the houſe of Eſte.

The grounds which in other parts of Italy in the like manner ſuperſeded the ſhoals, fens and marſhes, with the face of the country have changed the nature of the ſoil and its products. Modena, for inſtance, which in Strabo's time was famous for its incomparable wool, has loſt that advantage, which however is made up by others. The diggings which, from time to time, become neceſſary within the circuit of the new city, diſcover the prodigious elevation of its preſent ſite above the former, in the ruins found at a very great depth.

In the formation of these new grounds nature received some assistance from art: peace, with the increase of men, increased consumption, wants, necessaries, the cultivation and the worth of lands. From the era of the chief enterprizes of this kind may be dated the commencements of the greatness, opulence and power acquired by the republican cities of Italy. The clearing of grounds came soon to be carried on as vigorously as drainings. A charter of the countess Matilda in 1112 makes mention of a spot in the Ferrarese, *quod nunc extirpatur, & ex parte extirpatum est*; and farther of a *Runcus de Joanne Anastasii. Runcus*, derived from the old Latin word *runcare*, is what in old French was called an *Essart*, that is, a wood or part of a forest, newly cleared. Countess Matilda held by lease, from the abbe of Nonantula, a vast forest covering the whole territory of Nogara. On the decease of that princess, the people of Verona fell to hewing it down, in order for cultivation. Innocent II. in a brief of 1136, makes a heavy complaint about this intrusion, which he expresses in these terms directed to the people of Verona: *Quod Nogariensam sylvam extirpaveretis, eamque vestris usibus excolatis.* In a contract dated 1113, for clearing a forest in the Ferrarese, the undertaker says, *Terram autem illam quam runcabo, frui debeo per annos tres, postea reddam terroticum*; that is, three years possession, clear of all charges, would answer the expences of the clearing.

In an instrument mentioned in the first part of the History of the House of Este, are the words *Xamplis* and *Zamplis*, synonimous with *Ronchus*; indeed

indeed du Cange has, *terra exemplata*, *exemplatio*, *exemplum*, from which *Xemplum* differs only in the want of one letter. Theſe words are undoubtedly derivatives from the Latin *ampliare* or *exampliare*, and from the ſame ſource likewiſe may come the Italian *ſcempio*. The new arable lands were called *Novales*, but the more general word was *Ronchus*; and it has given name to a great number of places up and down Italy, as *Ronco*, *Ronco vetere*, *Ronchi*, *Roncaglio*, *Roncaglia*, *Ronca*. But none of theſe places make ſuch a figure in ancient monuments as the *Roncaglia* of Placentia: it was a vaſt field on the banks of the Po, without a ſingle tree in it; here the princes and barons of Italy held their meetings, and when the German emperors came to take poſſeſſion of the crown of Lombardy, this place was the ſcene of the ceremony.

That increaſe of population, which rendered the clearing of grounds abſolutely neceſſary, was chiefly owing to the exorbitant liberalities of ſovereigns towards churches and their courtiers. The profuſe grants of lands, villages, caſtles, and even regalities, to all who ſolicited for them, made as it were a people of petty ſovereigns. Each of theſe new ſovereigns reſiding in his petty kingdom, was very eager to improve his poſſeſſions, to ſtrengthen himſelf, and draw thither inhabitants, that he might have ſomething of a court and a good number of ſubjects. Theſe meaſures however drained the territory belonging to the cities, which now, in their turn, acquiring power and wealth by the advantages ariſing to population, from agriculture and trade,

began in the 11th century to lift up their heads, and obliged all the neighbouring potentates to submit to their laws, to reside within their walls, and to share in the honour and offices of citizens.

* This was the epocha when servitude, which had so long prevailed in Italy, became extinguished. Under the dominion of the Romans, its whole territory was parcelled out into numberless estates, cultivated by gangs of slaves, who were annexed to the lands, and went along with them in all the changes of proprietors. The invasion of the Barbarians, in breaking the shackles of the greater part of these slaves, did what Christianity had not been able to do. Their masters, being themselves threatened with slavery, set them at liberty for their defence. Others secured themselves by joining the Barbarians, who knew of no other right of servitude than over slaves taken by themselves. Great numbers of slaves however still remained in Italy, under the Lombards and French. They made a considerable part of the possessions of the church itself: it appears from several acts, that abbots and bishops used to let them out to seculars, under whom their condition was alleviated by the hopes of manumission, which it does not appear that the church ever granted, unquestionably on account that these poor creatures went along with the immoveables. And this, together with the lenity of the seculars in granting manumissions, are verified by a law of Pepin, ordering that, should a father by will manumit all his slaves, yet might the daughter and heiress

* Extract from Muratori's 15th Dissertation.

claim

claim and retain one third of them. Manumiſſions were farther facilitated by the multiplicity of the forms under which the laws allowed of them. The petty ſovereignties, ſet up in the 10th and 11th centuries, were as ſo many ſignals calling thoſe, who were groaning in thraldom, to the enjoyment of liberty. Theſe little potentates, being often at war among themſelves, and the cities perpetually embroiled with one another, ſet the ſlaves of their territories free, in conſequence of arming them; and the proximity of all theſe belligerant powers afforded the ſlaves, whom their maſters were for keeping in ſlavery, ſure and ſpeedy means to ſhake it off: in a word, the fortified caſtles, then thick ſown in Italy, were to the ſlaves what formerly the aſylum, opened by Romulus, was to the ſlaves of Latium. The admiſſion of theſe ſlaves to the freedom of towns and cities is to be reckoned among the firſt cauſes of the prodigious increaſe of population in Italy.

The towns and cities, being not ſufficient for the number of their inhabitants, enlarged their circuit: hence the aggrandizement of Naples, Milan, Florence, Pavia, Verona, Padua, Cremona, Bologna, Ferrara, &c. which only two centuries before were mere deſarts. At preſent every one in theſe cities, if ever ſo little acquainted with the antiquities of his country, points out to ſtrangers the ſucceſſive enlargements of their circuit, and within this circuit many churches, which originally were built without the walls.

Some wiſe regulations, at the ſame time, took place for providing dwellings anſwerable to the multiplication of the country people. The moſt

ancient ſtatute in being, relative to the city of Modena, directs that "all who had between that "city and *Cittanova* poſſeſſions *ad minus octo bu-* "*bulcarum*, to build a houſe on it, and live in "the ſaid houſe, or cauſe it to be lived in." For facilitating the culture of theſe poſſeſſions, the ſame ſtatute had nominated a jury of *æſtimatores* or appraiſers; and the proprietor of a conſiderable parcel of land had the privilege of purchaſing, according to their eſtimate, any little pieces of ground incloſed within his eſtate.

If we recal our ſurvey to the preſent ſtate of Italy, it will ſhew us how extremely population has decreaſed there: that except Leghorn, and ſome cities which ſtill enjoy their ſovereign's preſence, Italy, in the midſt of profound peace, is in a way of ſinking again into that condition, to which it had been reduced by the beforementioned deſtructive wars. The overthrow of its manufactures and trades, now poſſeſſed by other nations, together with a great part of it being ſubject to foreign powers, are the chief cauſes of its depopulation. Yet the Italians will have it to contain at preſent twenty millions of ſouls, of which to Venice they aſſign four millions; to the Milaneſe two hundred and forty thouſand, and to Piedmont two millions; whereas the pope's dominions, by the late account, taken under the inſpection of cardinal Valenti, have only eleven hundred thouſand.

Luxury being to flouriſhing ſtates and opulent nations as ruſt to metals, let us enquire by what means and how far it got footing in Italy during the middle ages; an object ſo far from eſcaping

eſcaping Muratori's attention, that he has devoted to it part of his twenty-third diſſertation, of which I ſhall ſet down ſome extracts.

The condition of Italy, in this reſpect, during the centuries preceding the revival of its ſplendour, may eaſily be conceived. Its towns and fields being turned into deſarts, the diſtreſſed inhabitants who had ſurvived the peſtilence, famine and the ſword of Barbarians, had ſcarce the immediate neceſſaries of life, and, by the total ceſſation of trade, were without any means of bettering their condition; beſides prudence would not admit of any oſtentation which might ſtimulate the avidity of ſome ſavage conqueror.

Ricobaldo, who lived in the 13th century, concludes his hiſtory of Ferrara with a picture of the manners of the Italians, or at leaſt of the Ferrareſe his countrymen.

"Under Frederic II." ſays that hiſtorian, "the "manners, cuſtoms, and way of living, were very "remote from any appearance of luxury. The "men wore on a cap, which they called *majata*, "a kind of mitre, with no other ornament than "iron ſcales. The huſband and wife eat out of "the ſame diſh, as for plates the uſe of them "was not known. A rummer or two ſerved a "whole family; their light was a lamp, no "candles of any kind having been yet invented. "Men wore cloaks of ſkins or coarſe wool, both "without any linings. The cap was of the ſame "ſtuff; as was the women's apparel, even of "brides. Little or no gold was to be ſeen in all "their dreſs. As to food, the commonality eat

" freſh meat only three times a week, their dinner " was vegetables dreſt with that meat, which cold " ſerved for ſupper. It was only ſome of the " moſt wealthy who drank wine in ſummer: no- " thing but abſolute neceſſaries were kept in ei- " ther cellars or lofts. The portions of wives " were anſwerable to the little coſt of their main- " tenance. The apparel of young women con- " ſiſted of a kind of coarſe robe which they cal- " led *Soutanne*, and a large flaxen veil called " *Xocca*; all the head-dreſs of married women " themſelves were ſome broad ribbons about their " temples, and hanging down their cheeks. The " object of men's oſtentation was their armour and " horſes. The prime nobility diſtinguiſhed them- " ſelves by fortifying their houſes with towers, " the number of which proclaimed to the neigh- " bouring country, the grandeur of a city in the " multitude of its nobility. At that time a very " ſlender ſum of money made a rich man."

Ricobaldo is ſilent as to the manners of the clergy, who, before the times which this hiſtorian had in his eye, differed greatly from the parſimony of the laity; at leaſt, if they are to be judged by St. Peter Damian's invectives. But the clergy were rich; for the church had taken care of its poſſeſſions at the time of the Lombard conqueſt; and the figure it was obliged to make could not be kept up, but by an appearance of ſtate and luxury; beſides this luxury and ſtate might be the more ſtriking from its contraſt to the wretchedneſs of the people. However it was, in the following manner does St. Peter Damian ſpeak of

of the cardinals and biſhops in his time *, "They "are inſatiable in the purſuit of riches, that their "tables may be covered with pyramids of meats "ſeaſoned with all the ſpices of India, that wines "of every kind may ſparkle in their chryſtal "veſſels, that wherever they come, a ſoft and "gorgeous bed may be prepared for them. Then "the canopies, the tapeſtry, and carpets in their "apartments!----Such, now a-days, is the tem-"perance, ſelf-denial, and ſimplicity, by which "the miniſters of the Lord are to be characte-"rized.----The kingly purple is too uniform and "dull in its colour: even for beds nothing is "made uſe of under variegated ſtuffs of the moſt "lively and glaring colours. Home linings are "too common, lamb-ſkins too mean; they muſt "have ermins, ſables, and martens, and for no "other reaſon but their being of a price which "few can reach. The multitude of vanities e-"qually ridiculous and deplorable overwhelms "me. I cannot ſtand the ſight of thoſe mitres "richer than Tiaras, thoſe horſes, the like of "which the imperial ſtables ſcarce afford; thoſe "rings of enormous gems; thoſe croſiers covered "with gold and jewels. Never did I ſee at Rome "itſelf any thing of the laſt kind, which exceed-"ed the glitter of the biſhops of Aſcoli and "Trani."

The greateſt noblemen diſplayed their luxury only on occaſional feſtivities, as the nuptials of their children, or at their inſtalment as knights; and theſe extraordinary expences were defrayed by a contribution impoſed on the vaſſals and ſubjects.

* Opuſc. 31. cap. 6.

By this obſervation it is that we muſt eſtimate the magnificence of the marriage of counteſs Matilda's father, a full detail of which the monk Doniſon has left us in the firſt canto of his poem on the counteſs. Beſides, the poet's fancy muſt be thought to have furniſhed ſome contributions towards the preparatives and expence of ſuch a ſuperb entertainment.

Thus, from theſe momentary feſtivities, nothing can be inferred againſt Ricobaldo's deſcription. Yet muſt we not omit the reproaches of a Frenchman to the Italians on their attachments to the delights of the table, in a poem compoſed about the beginning of the tenth century, in honour of the emperor Beranger.

Quid inertia bello
Pectora, Ubertus ait, duris prætenditis armis,
O Itali! potius vobis ſacra pocula cordi,
Sæpius & ſtomachum nitidis laxare ſaginis.

But what we want is a poliſhed good cheer, cheer refined by luxury, whereas this paſſage gives us only the homely cheer of Homer's heroes.

The former offers itſelf to us in John of Saliſbury's account of a ſupper to which he was invited by a rich merchant of Apulia. "The "ſupper laſted till very late at night, and as if "Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, could "not afford any thing good enough, we were "ſerved with all the dainties of Conſtantinople, "Babylon, Alexandria, and Tripoli, *&c.* If you "would

"would be more particularly informed about "the plenty, the neatneſs and regularity of the "entertainment, and the eaſy politeneſs of the "maſter of the houſe, aſk the treaſurer of Can- "terbury, who was likewiſe one of the company." A merchant at Cadiz could at preſent give the like ſupper; but it is not therefore to be inferred, that Spain is a country where much good cheer is in vogue.

But in the 12th century, when John of Saliſbury lived, we meet with a memorial of this kind more ſingular. The canons of St. Ambroſe of Milan uſed, on certain ſtated days, to go and dine with the abbot and monks, who jointly officiated with them in the Ambroſian Baſilic. The abbot was for reducing them, at theſe meals, to the community's pittance, on which they brought an action againſt him, inſiſting that he ſhould cauſe nine diſhes to be ſerved to them in three courſes. The firſt cold fowls, *gambas de vino*, and cold pork: the ſecond, ſtuffed fowls, beef with a pepper ſauce, and meat pies: the third, roaſted fowls, fricaſied kidnies and ſtuffed pigs. The record of this odd diſpute, which is to be found among the monuments of the Ambroſian Baſilic collected by Puricelli, proves nothing againſt the laity's parſimonious living, even in the following century.

A continued luxury among the people, and kept up amidſt all the misfortunes and calamities of thoſe centuries, is to be found only at Rome. This city had but ſlightly felt the irruption of the Oſtrogoths and Lombards. Whilſt the popes

* Page 702.

had

had reſided at Rome, their court, with the richneſs and expence of it, beſides other circumſtances, cauſed a plentiful circulation of money, though ſo ſcarce every where elſe; in a word, in thoſe days, as in ours, the Romans were exceſſively fond of ſhow: in the gratification of that taſte which prevailed, and ſtill prevails among the very populace, they grudged nothing.

So early as the year 1108, Paſcal II. at the council of Benevento, had prohibited the eccleſiaſtics wearing lay dreſſes: *veſtimenta ſecularia & precioſa*. But the choice of Roman finery was diſplayed when the unhappy Conradin made his entrance into that city in 1268, on his unfortunate expedition to Naples. "Acroſs the ſtreets "through which he paſſed, were ſtretched ropes "full of girdles, ſaſhes, large knit purſes, gloves, "mittens, bracelets, rings, collars, bodkins, bod-"dices, mantelets, cloaks, quilts, counterpanes, "and bed-curtains hanging to them: the gloſs of "the rich ſtuffs, fine colours, exquiſite embroi-"deries, and furs of all kinds, was heigthtened "by that of the gold, jewels, and pearls, with "which all thoſe garments, of themſelves ſo coſt-"ly, were enriched."

Saba Maleſpina, a contemporary hiſtorian, mentions this ſhow as ſomething *magnum & auditu mirabile, una coſa ſtupenda*; but our age, which may be allowed to underſtand thoſe things better than Maleſpina, will take the liberty of thinking otherwiſe.

The gate, by which luxury did effectually make its way into Italy, was Naples. Thouſands of

* Hiſt. lib.

Provençals

Provençals and French had followed Charles of Anjou to the conqueſt of that kingdom, and his fortune drew to Naples new ſwarms of adventurers, who maintained themſelves at court, and put in for favours by a laviſh parade, of which the chief burden fell on tradeſmen. A ſparkiſh and luxuriant court was quite a new ſight to all Italy, and an example the more contagious, as the Italians were then growing rich. A journal printed among the *ſcript. rerum Italic.* ſays, that the Neapolitans were quite in an extaſy at the magnificence of the entry of Charles of Anjou, and the queen his conſort. "The march was headed by "400 men at arms, French, in gorgeous uni- "forms, having on helmets with agrets and "plumes of feathers; theſe were followed by a "company of Friſons in ſuch liveries that no- "thing could be richer; then came ſixty French "lords, with large gold chains about their necks; "then appeared the queen in a coach, *caretta*, all "ſky-blue velvet within and without, and every "where embroidered with gold flower de luces: "*Tale che*," adds the author of the journal, "*à* "*vita mia non vidi la piu bella viſta*, in my whole "life I never ſaw ſo fine a ſight."

This is the firſt coach which has occurred to me in the monuments of thoſe ages I have been inquiring into. When Frederic II. came to Padua in 1239, he was met by all the beauties ſet off in their richeſt dreſſes and ornaments *, *Sedentes in phaleratis & ambulantibus palafredis*, riding on their palfries richly capariſoned.

* Rolandino. Cron. l. 4. c. 9.

Before

Before we leave the progreſs of luxury, let us bring to remembrance the deſcription of the preceding times, which Dante puts in the mouth of Caccia Guida, one of his anceſtors.

I have ſeen, ſays the good old man, "I have "ſeen the time, when Florence enjoyed peace both "at home and abroad. Our women then adorned "themſelves with thriftineſs and modeſty, inſtead "of flaunting with theſe gold chains, theſe crowns, "theſe girdles, and all thoſe gewgaws, which, if "admired, draw the looks from thoſe who wear "them. A father's joy at the birth of a daugh-"ter was not imbittered with the thoughts of the "exceſſive portion to be given her; and the num-"ber of births was not diminiſhed by any ſuch "ſaddening thoughts. I have ſeen the heads of "Florence, I have ſeen Bellincion Berti, walking "publickly in the ſtreets with a leathern girdle "faſtened by a bone-claſp, and leading his wife, "who had no ſuch thing as a looking-glaſs. I "have ſeen the Nerlis, I have ſeen the Vecchios "in a ſkin, the lining of which was its wool, and "their wives at home ſewing and ſpinning."

We perceive the gradation of luxury in the laws animadverting on it. At the council of Lyons in 1274, Gregory X. interdicted to all women throughout Chriſtendom the leaſt exceſs in apparel, partly by reaſon of the ruinous expences which were its natural conſequence. In the ſtatutes laid down by the republic of Modena, for its own government, 1323, "No chambermaids, waitingmaids, or wo-"men of low condition, are to wear trailing "gowns or ſilk ribbons; and women of all ranks "are forbid wearing gowns with a tail above a yard

" yard in length, necklaces, bracelets, girdles a-
" bove the value of fifty ſols, and trimmings of
" gowns exceeding three livres, with a fine on the
" goldſmith or taylor offending againſt that ordi-
" nance."

John Villani, in the 13th book of his hiſtory, under the year 1342, ſpeaks of the ardour of the young Florentines for laying aſide the Roman *toga*, which till that time had been retained at Florence, and introducing in its ſtead the more graceful and ſmart, but very complicated and troubleſome dreſs, worn by the French in the retinue of the duke of Athens. It was a kind of cloak, ſuch as players wear in the character of Criſpin, and which the Spaniards retained a long time.

An anonymous manuſcript of the 14th century, relating to the patrician and plebeian families of Padua, informs us that in that city boys went bare-headed to the age of twenty; Milan kept up this cuſtom for a long time, and the celebrated Locke was for promoting it in England. " At
" the age of twenty," continues the manuſcript,
" they wore either Forli-hats or hoods, or chape-
" roons. Over a ſlaſhed and very cloſe coat, they
" wore a large ſurtout, the ſtuff of which coſt at
" leaſt twenty ſols per yard: perſons of good
" families took care to diſtinguiſh themſelves by
" a great number of well cloathed domeſtics,
" ſightly horſes, and fine weapons. On certain
" feſtivals the young nobility clubbed for enter-
" tainments to their miſtreſſes, and one of them
" lent his houſe, where every lover waited on his
" charmer. Theſe entertainments concluded with
" dancings and other exerciſes (*haſtiludia*). The
" country-

" country-ſeats about Padua perpetually exhi-
" bited diverſions of one kind or other. On the
" greater feſtivals, all the young nobility on horſe-
" back, and divided into troops of two or three
" hundred each, tried their ſkill in races, running
" at the ring or tournaments, which never paſſed
" without ſome miſchief. From theſe gal-
" lantries, the country of Padua got the name of
" the *realm of love.*" Such was the manner of living at Padua under that Ezelin de Romano, whom Venice ſtripped of its territories, and whom its hiſtorians make the moſt cruel and mercileſs of all tyrants. They have forgot to intimate that his remarkable encouragement of theſe ſports might be a branch of what politicians call *arcana tyrannidis.* The women being left to their own wills, employed all their invention in varying modes of dreſs, and making them more expenſive. Of ſome the abovementioned manuſcript gives us a ſpecimen: Falbalas, or furbelows were of the number; at leaſt I perceive them in the girones and criſpatas of the manuſcript. It further tells us, that before Ezelin's reign, the townſmen did not offer to mingle with the entertainments of the nobility, and that by a law, *juvenes filii nobilium ſuper popularium maxillas quàm citius alapas apponerent*; but this law grew obſolete under Ezelin, his encouragement of luxury and ſpectacles confounding all diſtinctions.

Francis Pepin, in his chronicle written about the year 1313, to Ricobaldo's account of the manners of the preceding age, oppoſes the following picture of his times. " Now," ſays he, " every
" thing ſeems running into profligacy and ruin of
" families;

" families; ſumptuouſneſs has ſuperſeded parſi-
" mony; in apparel, how great ſoever the price
" of the ſtuffs, it is nothing in compariſon of the
" trimmings, being made up of pearls, the moſt
" valuable metals, ſilks and foreign furrs. Luxury
" has likewiſe intruded itſelf on our tables; we
" muſt have wines from the moſt diſtant coun-
" tries; plenty is not enough, our food muſt be
" dainty. By this luxury it is that ſcoundrels of
" cooks are come to conceit themſelves men of
" importance. This luxury ſtimulates avarice
" and cupidity; it authorizes and legitimates
" uſury, meanneſs, fraud, rapine, public diſtur-
" bances, malverſations in the finances; it ſticks
" at nothing to ſupply the wants which it has
" produced." This deſcription of his times Pe-
pin concludes with a paſſage from Seneca, ap-
plicable to every age, when luxury is in vogue
and applauded: *Omne certamen ad turpia, &c.*

An exact knowledge of the manners of Italy in the 14th century, that is in the age of its opu-
lence and ſplendour, is only to be had in the picture which John Muſſo has left us of the manners of Placentia his native country. I ſhall endea-
vour to copy it, literally following him through all the particulars he has thought fit to mention; and where the reader will unqueſtionably be ſur-
priſed at meeting with all our luxury, and moſt of the French faſhions. " The expences both of men
" and women, in food and apparel, are riſen to a
" degree, that our anceſtors could never imagine
" nor foreſee. Womens gowns, beſides their
" monſtrous length and width, are of velvets of
" of the richeſt colours, ſilk-ſtuffs, ſilk and gold,

" and

" and gold brocade; if woollen, they muſt be of " the fineſt ſcarlet, ſo that the bare ſtuff for " making a gown coſts from 25 to 70 florins or " gold ducats: the ſleeves are often of ſuch a " length as to touch the ground, and their enor- " mous breadth is gathered in along the upper " part, this being left open for the freedom of " the hand. Theſe gowns further have their " trimmings, to the amount of five or ſix ounces " of pearl, at ten florins the ounce, ſometimes of " broad galloons or gold lace, covering the " ſhoulder-piece and border of the ſleeves, and " likewiſe gaudily bedaubing little hoods or cha- " peroons, which may be drawn over the head. " Theſe gowns are tied with girdles, enriched " with ſilver gilt, or pearls to the amount of " twenty-five florins. Beſides this finery, their " fingers are covered with rings of all kinds of " jewels, not to be had under thirty florins, ſome " fifty. Thoſe gowns, which were the full dreſs, " intirely covered the neck and breaſt, while " others called cyprians are not ſo modeſt. Theſe " cyprians, which in the lower part are very full, " are made to ſit like wax to the ſhape: The " ſleeves are as thoſe of the other gowns, and, be- " ſides the like trimmings, have a row of ſilver " gilt or pearl buttons on each ſide down their " whole length. Theſe gowns, ſo offenſive to " modeſty, expoſe the breaſt, which projects as " if ſtruggling to break through its confinement. " Excluſive of immodeſty, this dreſs muſt be al- " lowed very graceful."

Now for the head dreſs. " Here we ſee " crowns or garlands of ſilver gilt, or pure gold,

" or

" or pearls, which coſt from ſeventy to a hundred " florins: likewiſe *Trezoles* of large pearls, from " one hundred to twenty-five florins; *Sagiotes* " from fifty to one hundred florins. *Trezoles* are " three rows of large pearls one hundred in each. " Theſe ornaments, which were intermixed with " the braidings of the hair, are now ſucceeded by " plates of gold or ſilver in the ſhape of a heart, " with knots of thoſe jewels.

" Here likewiſe muſt be noticed the mantelets, " *mantellos ſive clamydes curtas*, together with " the coral or amber paternoſters and chaplets. " No woman is without at leaſt three mantelets of " blue, purple, and watered camblet, all lined " with an exceeding fine and white ſilk or cotton " pluſh, ermin and miniver; ſome with a hood, " and others without. Theſe mantelets are come " in the room of the mantles, which our mothers " uſed to wear; the latter were flounced all over, " and open before, with rows of ſilver gilt but- " tons or pearls to the waiſt, and covered the " whole body from head to foot. This is now " the particular veſture for widows, but brown " and without any enrichment, and the very but- " tons are of the ſame ſtuff as the gown; their " mantelets and hoods however are lined with the " ſame pluſh as thoſe of other women.

" Our young men likewiſe wear cloth and ſome- " times velvet *cabans*, or ſurtouts, moſt extrava- " gantly large, reaching to the ground, and lined " with curious furs of native or foreign beaſts. " This article coſts from twenty to thirty florins. " They have alſo their mantles and mantelets and " cloth-hoods lined, and over them embroidered

" ſcarlet caps. Their uſual coat is full or narrow,
" according to fancy; but always ſo ſhort as to
" expoſe *medias nates & membrum & genitalia*, co-
" vered however by linen drawers and large cloth
" breeches faſtened in five places to an under waiſt-
" coat; but theſe drawers and breeches are ſo light
" as not in the leaſt to hide the ſhape of what they
" cover. The coat, with its ſhort ſkirts before
" and behind, is, according to the ſeaſon, of vel-
" vet, camblet, or the fineſt linen; but all muſt
" be embroidered with ſilver or ſilk, if not pearls.
" The men of dreſs wear over this coat a girdle
" or faſh; it is only in winter that are general-
" ly worn the hoods, or cloſe chaperons, hang-
" ing down to the very ground *(ita quod omnes*
" *videntur eſſe in foza, tamen non ſunt in foza)*.
" (What this means I own is beyond my know-
" ledge). For the leg they have little white
" boots with ſoles, and often terminating in a
" point, or a little bill ſtuffed, and three inches
" long: theſe bills are a new fangled faſhion.
" Laſtly, our young gentry, like the women, have
" their necklaces of ſilver or ſilver gilt, pearls or
" coral; their beard is ſhaved, and their hair
" clipped half down their ears and rounded be-
" hind. They are ſure to keep as many horſes
" and ſervants as they can well afford; a foot-
" man has twelve golden florins a year, and cham-
" ber-maids ſeven; they are boarded, but find
" their own cloaths.

" The like expence, ſplendor and nicety ſhews
" itſelf at their tables. This is the uſual courſe,
" eſpecially in treats of ceremony; the ſervice is
" uſhered in with dry ſweetmeats, and wine red

and

" and white; then follows a capon or two, and a " large joint of meat with almonds and ſugar- " ſauce, richly ſeaſoned. Next comes the roaſt " meat, which, according to the ſeaſon, conſiſts " of fowls, capons, pheaſants, patridges, hares, " roe-buck, wild-boar and veniſon, and game of " all kind. The roaſt meat gives place to tarts, " pies, and other paſtry, all iced, and theſe are " followed by fruit. Then the company waſhes; " but before the table be removed, they fall to " eating of ſweetmeats, and now and then drink- " ing a glaſs of wine. Sometimes inſtead of pies " that part of the treat is made up of tarts, of " eggs, cream, cheeſe, and milk, and iced with " ſugar. In winter it is uſual to have cold pies " of poultry and wild-fowl, of poultry and veal, " and even of fiſh. In ſummer theſe pies are all " poultry or kid, or veal and poultry. In lent " the meal begins with wine and ſweetmeats, " which are followed by 1ſt, Dried figs and blanch- " ed almonds. 2dly, Large dried fiſh with pep- " per ſauce. 3dly, Rice with almonds, milk and " ſugar, and potted eels. 4thly, Stewed pike. " 5thly, Nuts and fruits. 6thly, Wine and ſweet- " meats.

" Luxury in foods, dreſſes, houſes, and furni- " ture, at Placentia, is about ſeventy years ſtand- " ing; that is, it began to get footing towards " the year 1320. Houſes, now a-days, have par- " lours, rooms with chimnies, courts with piaz- " zas, wells, gardens, and a thouſand conveniен- " cies, which our anceſtors knew nothing of: " many a houſe, now with ſeveral chimnies, had " not ſo much as one in the laſt century. The

" fire was made in the middle of the houſe, and " all the outlet for ſmoke only between the tiles; " the family gathered about the fire, which alſo " ſerved for the cookery, and this was the way in " my time in many houſes, which had not ſo much " as a well. Wine ſeems to have been the dar- " ling object of luxury; at leaſt it is infinitely " better at preſent than in the laſt century.

" As to domeſtic œconomy, the maſter of the " houſe with his wife and children eat at one table " in a room with a fire, but generally in a kitchen: " one trencher or plate ſerves two perſons; every " one has his ſlice of bread and two chriſtal " glaſſes, one for water the other for wine; many " are attended by their ſervants, who cut out the " victuals on the table, and bring them water to " waſh before and after meals.

" Furniture, at preſent, runs away with twelve " times more than before the year 1330. This " expenſive taſte we owe to France, Flanders, and " Spain; and now the luxury of all theſe countries " hath over-run Placentia. Tables, formerly on- " ly twelve inches broad, are now enlarged to " eighteen, and with table-cloths and napkins, " likewiſe ſilver cups, ſpoons, and forks, porrin- " gers, large knives, ewers, and baſons. The " beds, beſides ſilk quilts, have a teſter or little " canopy with linen curtains hanging all round " it; inſtead of lamps, houſes of any credit uſe " torches, or wax or tallow candles in braſs or " iron candleſticks; and that houſe is poor in- " ded, which is not provided with every utenſil for " decency and conveniency.

" To

" To have two fires is now grown a cuſtom,
" one for a room, the other for a kitchen; great
" quantities of ſweetmeats are laid up in ſtore,
" and nothing is grudged for gratifying the appe-
" tite.

" But now let us proceed to the effects of
" this luxury. Portions have kept pace with
" expence; they now riſe to four, five, or ſix
" hundred florins, and theſe the huſband ſinks in
" cloaths for his wife and a ſumptuous wedding.
" And the bride's father, for his part, beſides the
" portion, does not expend leſs than a hundred
" florins in paraphernalia, preſents, and other
" charges. now grown indiſpenſable.

" Iniquitous gains are become the natural con-
" ſequence of a luxury which has already ruined a
" great number of families, by taking no care to re-
" gulate their expences according to their abilities.
" A little reflection would have taught them, that
" a houſe, with nine mouths and two horſes, can-
" not, as things go now, be completely kept un-
" der three hundred florins, or four hundred and
" eighty imperials, and ſo in proportion; and all
" this, excluſive of unforeſeen, extraordinary, and
" inevitable expences. But people live away with-
" out troubling themſelves about any ſuch calcu-
" lations, and thus, after making a blaze at home,
" they are obliged to ſteal away, enter into foreign
" ſervice, or are glad to be clerks to a ware-
" houſe, or in ſome ſuch paltry buſineſs.

" Theſe are the evils into which the nobility,
" the trading houſes and the citizens of Placen-
" tia are running headlong; nay, I ſhall not ex-
" cept the very artificers and handy-crafts-men:

" theſe likewiſe have their luxury, as may be ſeen " in their frequent meetings at taverns."

RAVENNA.

From Sinigaglia we took the road to Venice, returning back to Rimini, from whence we proceeded to Cervia, a ſmall place; the ſalt-works, however, ſupply the pope's territories and part of Lombardy. Though a biſhop's ſee, this town contains nothing remarkable but ſtorehouſes very ſtrong built, and cloſely ſhut, as were the houſes, ſo that they ſeemed to be without inhabitants. Its whole territory being a dry mixture of ſalt and ſand, the air is very unhealthy. In appearance it has been formed by the ſea, the ebbing of which, indeed, has produced the greater part of the pope's poſſeſſions on this coaſt.

We afterwards paſſed through a large foreſt of pines, where the ſoil is intirely ſandy, and does not afford ſo much as the leaſt blade or ſpine of verdure. It is doubtleſs to this aridity that the ſeed of theſe pines owes its ſpeedy maturity, which makes it ſo much in requeſt, that there is a great demand for it all over Italy. In this foreſt, which he calls *Pigneta*, Bocace has placed the ſcene of that odd apparition which is the ſubject of the eighth novel of the fifth book of the *Decameron*; and which, according to him, *fu cagione che tutte le Ravignane Donne ſi pauroſe ne divennero, che ſempre poi troppo arrendevoli à piaceri degli huomini furono*, i. e. put the Ravenna women into ſuch a fright, that, ever ſince, they have been rather for complying with mens deſires.

As

As we drew near to Ravenna we loſt ſight of the ſea, and in places which it covered in the time of the Exarchs, that is, in the ſixth and ſeventh centuries of the chriſtian æra. In the middle of the plain, formed by its receſs, we paſſed by, on our left, the church of St. Appolinaris; the ſtately but the only remains of the town of Claſce *(a)*, a very conſiderable place under the Roman emperors, as defending the ſouth entrance of a harbour which Auguſtus had made the ſtation of the fleet deſtined for the ſecurity of the Adriatic. The bay of this habour was defended by another town called Ceſarea, and Ravenna commanded the northern mouth. This harbour, the entrance of which may be ſuppoſed to have been contracted by moles and jettees, was in extent a league every way, and its borders between the three towns which commanded it, were all along covered with ſtorehouſes, and barracks for the ſoldiers and ſeamen, intermixed with delightful ſeats. The pick-ax every day brings to light *Rudera* of vaſt and ſtrong buildings, which might be ſaid to make one continued town of the three abovementioned; but now the ſurface is reduced to a bare ſmooth plain, ſo that the ſea, in receding from theſe delicious places, ſeems totally to have ſwallowed them up.

Ravenna overlooks this plain: its ancient ſituation, according to Strabo's deſcription *, was not very unlike the preſent ſituation of Venice, whereas now its diſtance from the ſea is above a league.

(a) Boccace, in the tale abovementioned, calls it *Chiaſſi*.
* Lib. 5.

The above geographer thinks it was founded by the Theſſalians: this unqueſtionably muſt have been in thoſe times, when ſwarms of men from Greece, now almoſt a deſart, poured themſelves forth on thoſe coaſts of Italy which were neareſt or moſt convenient to them. It was among the conqueſts made by the Romans on the *Boian Gauls*, as theſe had driven out the Sabines. Tiberius rebuilt its walls with a magnificence of which ſome traces are ſtill viſible in the *Porta Aurea:* it was the favourite reſidence of Galla Placidia, who was daughter, ſiſter, and mother to emperors, and who ſupported the tottering fortune of the weſtern empire in the moſt critical circumſtances. Theodoric afterwards made it the ſeat of his empire. After a ſubjection of ſeventy years to the Oſtrogoths, Ravenna again came under the dominion of the emperors of Conſtantinople, who governed it by Exarchs, from whom Aſtolphus, king of the Lombards, conquered it in 732. This conqueſt brought the Lombards to the neighbourhood of Rome, which ſo alarmed the popes, that they called in the French. Charlemain, ſay the Italians, after the conqueſt of Lombardy, for the ſecurity of the Holy See, made a grant to it of the full ſovereignty of Ravenna and its exarchate, reaching from Rimini to Placentia, and from the Appennine to the Veroneſe and Vicentine marſhes. Ravenna being, in the following centuries, come into a ſtate of liberty, ſtood up in its own defence againſt Frederic II. but was overpowered by the forces of the Bologneſe. After being ſubject to them about a century, it was rent by inteſtine factions between the houſes of Traverſara and Polenta.

lenta. The latter prevailing, ſeized on the ſovereignty, and kept quiet poſſeſſion of it till 1440, when the Venetians, making themſelves maſters of it, fortified it as one of the keys of their continental dominions. In 1509 the victory of Agnadel deprived them of it, and Lewis XII. gave it to Julius II. who, in the very following year, raiſed all Europe againſt that monarch. Under the walls of this city, on Eaſter-day 1512, was fought that battle ſo memorable for the valour of the French, who had all the forces of Italy and Spain to deal with. Eighteen thouſand men fell in the action; but the French, though victorious, being weakened by the loſs of their commander, and the flower of the nation, were ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of their Italian conqueſts; the caſtles of Milan, Novarra, and Cremona, being all that remained to them. The firſt fruit of the above victory had been the taking of Ravenna, on which occaſion it underwent all the exceſſes which could be committed by an army fluſhed with victory and under no command. It ſoon returned to the papal dominion. The Venetians recovering it, in 1527, during the impriſonment of Clement VII. reſtored it two years after to the church, and it is now the ſeat of the Romaneſe legation.

At a little diſtance from Ravenna, we perceived to the left a croſs ſet up in memory of the abovementioned battle, on the bank of a ſmall river, called the Ronco. This river, the Montone, and ſome torrents iſſuing from the Appennine, formerly loſt themſelves among the alluvions about Ravenna; and, for want of a fixed bed, made their way to the very city in a manner which threatned

its

its deſtruction. At length its ſafety has been provided for by canals ſo judiciouſly laid out, that though, at firſt ſight, they ſeem intended only for ornament and pleaſure, it is by them it has a ſettled communication with the ſea. This enterprize, worthy of ancient Rome, formed and executed under the government to which this fine country is ſubject, will be an illuſtrious monument of what maybe done in any age and country whatever, by ſuch a genius as that of cardinal Alberoni, who began and finiſhed this work, within the ſpace of three years. The Venetians had before made ſome progreſs in defending Ravenna againſt inundations, by diverting the mouth of the Savio, which formerly was its harbour; whereas this river at preſent empties itſelf in the ſea, amidſt the ſhoals and ſand-banks of Cervia.

Ravenna is now only a vaſt ſolitude, though the ſtreets are large, ſtrait, and regular, with ſquares and fountains; and moſt of its ſacred edifices are ſtately remains of its ancient ſplendour. It is a pity that ſo very fertile a territory ſhould be without hands to cultivate it. The preſent ſoil, which is far higher than the ancient, this being now under water, was very proper for mulberry-trees. But theſe trees die away diſregarded, and without being replaced, Ravenna having now no other vent for its ſilks than the commiſeration of the Engliſh, and of this ſelf intereſt is the mobile *.

Nothing can be more curious and exquiſite than the marble ſculps in the churches built at

* See the articles of Milan and Pezaro.

Ravenna

Ravenna by Juſtinian, Placidia and Theodoric. Thoſe of the laſt prince eminently verify what Ennodius in his panegyric ſays of his taſte for the ſciences and fine arts: *eum educaverat in gremio civilitatis Græcia.* Nothing is more remote from barbariſm than the writings of Caſſiodorus his chancellor, who was the *Fontenelle* of his age. Nothing more remote from Gothiſm, than all the monuments of this king of the Oſtrogoths. After all Pauſanias's profuſion of eloquence in praiſe of the monuments of ancient Greece, the magnificence of them was not equal to that of the churches of St. Vital *di Claſce di Dentro*, and of St. Apollinarius in Ciel-aureo

The former of theſe churches, ſuppoſed to have been built by Juſtinian, is like that of St. Apollinarius di Claſce di fuora, a dome in the form of an octagon, with a periſtyle ſupporting a row of galleries. At firſt ſight its inward proportions ſeemed to me of the ſhorteſt, and I could not but wonder at the pillars being without baſes. But a kind of vault being opened, I ſaw at the depth of three feet the old pavement, which is of a fine moſaic, and the baſe of one of the pillars; during part of the year theſe are under water. The preciſe regularity of the old Grecian architecture is not to be ſought for in the monuments of the lower ages of Greece; but it is made up as far as can be by the boldneſs, freedom, and delicacy of the workmanſhip, to which may be added, the richneſs of the marble pillars and linings of all the parts of theſe edifices. The canopy of the great altar of St. Vital is ſupported by four large columns brought from Greece,

Greece, and one ſeems a compound of gems; yet this mixture has not in the leaſt impaired either their nature or luſtre.

This church belongs to the Benedictines, whoſe houſe has a very remarkable ſingularity in it; a complete collection of the medicaments for treating diſtempers of all kinds, and of every imaginable expedient for the conveniency of the ſick. Beſides a well furniſhed laboratory, and an excellent phyſic garden kept in the beſt order, here are ſix large rooms on a floor: in the firſt is a complete ſet of pieces of anatomy; then all the inſtruments hitherto contrived for chirurgical operations, together with thread, needles, tents, bandages, ſuitable to every operation; laſtly a ſtore-houſe of beds, ſheets, bed cloaths, couches, pillars, cut out and prepared for the ready uſe of every kind of diſeaſe, with all poſſible conveniency to thoſe who attend on the patients. Theſe ſtores are diſtributed in large preſſes which wainſcot the ſix rooms, and are of very neat workmanſhip. To reproach the preparatives contrived by an active charity, with ſenſuality and delicacy, would be an offence againſt human nature. For thoſe diſtempers which require equitation, here is a moſt ingenious invention; a large dragon is ſuſpended in the middle of one of theſe rooms, which, by means of clock-work, has all the motions of a horſe. It gave me ſome pleaſure to ſee the Benedictine, who invented this automaton, put it to a full trot; there I alſo ſaw, but with very different emotions, a piece of wax-work, the hiſtory of which was related to me.

A young

A young man, paſſionately in love with a very beautiful young woman, went for a few days to his relations, to ſettle matters on the occaſion. In the mean time, this beauty fell ſick, died, and, at the young mans return, had been buried three days. Fancying the ſight of his miſtreſs might ſomewhat alleviate his deſpair, he got the vault to be opened, and there ſhe was ſeen in reality, as we ſaw her repreſented in wax. Extremely beautiful, among the damp regions of the dead; a lizard is ſucking her mouth, a worm is creeping out of one of her cheeks, a mouſe is gnawing one of her ears, and a huge ſwolen toad on her forehead is preying on one of her eyes. I own, at firſt ſight, I took this to be no more than a pious contrivance for mortifying pride, and alienating the heart from too violent a love of ſublunary inticements; but I have ſince been convinced of its poſſibility. Indeed, all the churches in Italy, from which for many ages religion and afterwards health had excluded all burial places, are now become one catacomb, divided in caſes or vaults ſeven feet long, four broad, and five deep, ſeparated by very ſlight walls, with a marble or ſtone cover, the extremities of which bear on thoſe walls. Exactly in this manner was laid out the whole ſubterraneous part of the great church, which the Dominicans were building at Ancona, ſo that it looked not unlike a pidgeon-houſe. At the removal of a corpſe into this laſt receptacle, it is brought to the edge of the vault in its veſture, and the face uncovered. Then the vault is half opened lengthwiſe, and after turning up its veil if a female, or ſpread-

ing

ing a handkerchief on the face, it is tumbled into the caſe, where it takes its chance in the fall, and the vault is immediately cloſed. Now it is both very poſſible and probable, that ſuch animals, ſubſiſting without the open air, may haunt and delight in ſuch places. The tomb-ſtones do not long fit in their firſt exactneſs, the walls being very ſlight ſink unequally, and thus cauſe a multitude of crevices.

In one of the courts of this ſame monaſtery, amidſt brambles and thorns, and under a roof juſt fit for a dogkennel, we were ſhewn a little ſquare chapel, the burial place of the empreſs Placidia, which ſhe uſed every precaution poſſible to preſerve from that beforementioned horror. This chapel, which is curiouſly lined with a beautiful griſdeline marble, contains three large tombs of the ſame marble, waved in a very exquiſite taſte and finely finiſhed. In two of theſe tombs are laid Honorius her brother, and Valentinian her ſon; in the third, which is much larger than the two others, originally ſat Placidia herſelf in an elbow-chair, embalmed, and attired with all the enſigns of majeſty. Some curious perſon after breaking through the marble, in a part where the artiſt's hand had thinned it moſt, introduced a light, by which part of its contents were perceived. Some bungler afterwards took it into his head to do the like, ſet the empreſs's cloaths on fire, and thus her remains were totally conſumed.

Without the walls of Ravenna, in the middle of the tract from which the ſea has receded, ſtands another monument of the ſame kind, erected by queen Amalazuntha to Theodoric her father. It is

a rotunda

a rotunda of thirty feet diameter, divided into two ſtories, each forming a chapel. Its roof is of one ſingle piece of granate, cut in the form of an inverted cup, and its contour terminating with a corniſh, mouldings, and edges of chapiters. On the center of its convex outſide, four columns ſupported Theodoric's tomb; it was one ſingle block of porphyry, eight feet long, four in depth, and the like in breadth. It was likewiſe covered with bronze of moſt curious workmanſhip, and ſurrounded with ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles *(a)*; as it ſtood high, it formed a ſtately landmark for Ravenna harbour, and the ſhips coming into it. The rotunda on which it reſted is now above a league from the ſea, and loſt among the trees with which this large alluvion is over-run, and its lower chapel is in the water. I have taken notice that the door of this chapel is in the fineſt proportion, and without any of the diſfigurements of Gothiſm.

As to the tomb, it ſubſiſted in its original grandeur till the taking of Ravenna by the French, who, in order to plunder the bronze covering, cannonaded the tomb itſelf. There is not an Italian, that treats of the antiquities of Ravenna or the wars of Italy, who does not launch into the moſt reproachful invectives, and the people of Ravenna, to this day, loudly exclaim, againſt this ſavage attempt, and indeed of ſome others, which the French committed in the frenzy of victory. My copy of Alberti, at the margin of the place

(a) Theſe ſtatues having been carried away by the Venetians, now ſtand in the patriarchal church of St. Mark, on the grate, which ſeparates the choir from the Nave.

where

where these violences are related, has these two words in very old writing, *Iniquità de'Franceſi*, to which a later hand has added *ſcelerагginе*. These reproaches of writers, and of a whole people, provoked by injuries done to favourite objects, may teach the military gentlemen, that both antiquity and posterity ſhould not be beneath their regard.

I ſhall conclude these remarks on the ancient buildings of Ravenna with obſerving, that, of all thoſe which I have ſeen, none come up to the magnificence of *St. Apollinaris di claſce di fuora*, which unqueſtionably was built by the emperor Juſtinian. This edifice is the only remainder of all thoſe buildings and houſes, which, under the Exarches, ſtill made a conſiderable city. The church indeed I never ſaw, but by the deſcriptions of it which are come into my hands, and by what I have heard of it, this pre-eminence is no more than its due.

In that of the Holy Ghoſt is moſt carefully preſerved the ancient pontifical ſeat of the archbiſhops of Ravenna: it is not unlike one of our pulpits. Towards the roof in the ſame church is likewiſe ſeen a little caſement, through which the Holy Ghoſt is ſaid to have come in the ſhape of a pidgeon, and preſided at the election of eleven of thoſe archbiſhops, alighting on the head of him who was deſigned for that dignity.

These archbiſhops were formerly very great temporal lords under the Exarches. Ravenna, as the metropolis of all the imperial remains in Italy, and looking on Rome only as a duchy and a bone of contention for the Barbarians, ſet up to

rival

rival her, and even laid claim to the hierarchical primacy, as a conſequential acceſſory to the temporal primacy, which Rome could not conteſt with it. Such a claim occaſioned high diſputes between the archbiſhops and the popes, for which Pepin and Charlemain effectually chaſtiſed Ravenna, ſubjecting it to the pope even in temporalities.

In this city are ſeveral good paintings of the Bologna ſchool, but not a little damaged by the dampneſs of the churches. From that of St. Vital has been removed a painting of Barrocci, now placed in the veſtry; it repreſents the martyrdom of that ſaint, whom his perſecutors are throwing into a well, together with his wife and children. The ſubject is new, but not adapted to the pencil; accordingly it is much below ſome of Barrocci's pieces, and wants expreſſion and arrangement. He who excelled in virgins and angels, ſtrikes out of his walk in going about martyrs; yet does he ſhew himſelf here in a young woman, who, with her eyes fixed on the principal ſubject, ſeems labouring under redoubled tenderneſs and affection for a ſucking child, whom ſhe is hugging in her arms. This piece has ſuffered both from the dampneſs of the church, and unequal attempts to reſtore it.

The Camalduleſi have an Annunciation by Guido; and one of the moſt pleaſing pieces it is of that great maſter: dampneſs has likewiſe preyed on this, but without injuring its principal beauties, which however will be done by ſome refreſhing.

The great ſquare of Ravenna is an oblong, with the ſtatues of two popes facing each other at each end, one in bronze, viz. Alexander VII. the other of white marble repreſenting Clement XII. both are ſitting and giving the bleſſing; the firſt with two fingers, and the ſecond with his open hand. A common jeſt paſſed on them is, that they are playing at *morra*, a game among the people of Italy, in which they ſhew a vivacity and acuteneſs, which is not the portion of our northern people, to whom this play is a mere riddle. The Romans called it *Micare digitis & ludere par impar.*

In the public monuments the popes at Ravenna are repreſented ſitting, *per la dignità*; a poſture the more inconvenient, as the artiſts in modelling theſe figures ſeem to have forgot, that, being to be placed on pedeſtals, they ſhould be ſeen from the bottom to the top. To this inattention it is in a great meaſure owing, that moſt of theſe ſtatues appear all of a lump, or, as if their Holineſs's were eaſing themſelves. This awkward poſture Phidias to be ſure avoided, in his Olympic Jupiter; Michael Angelo departed from it in the Julius the IId, which he made for Bologna, repreſenting that martial pope ſtanding, in his more predominant character, that of a general of an army: *Oportebat Imperatorem ſtantem exhiberi.**

Ravenna has two hoſpitals and a college of jeſuits. The cleanlineſs of the hoſpitals would be admired, even in Holland, ſo that citizens of all ranks make them their refuge, as every way bet-

* *Sueton. in Veſpaſ.*

ter

ter attended and provided for, than they can expect their own home. At the jeſuits college one ſees a ſwarm of lively youths, in whom the artleſs and open graces of the early age are enlivened by that volatility of wit, genius, and petulancy of temper, which afterwards by reflection becomes ſtaid; which a total change of the countenance diſguiſes, and age ſuppreſſes without extinguiſhing.

Amidſt all theſe remains of its ancient ſplendor, Ravenna is now only *Magni nominis umbra*. It has neither trade nor manufactures, of courſe few handicraftſmen or artificers; the bulk of its inhabitants are idle nobles, making the intereſt of the princes of Europe, that is, the thing of all others the moſt foreign to them, their moſt important or indeed their only buſineſs. The great ſquare, where they meet every evening, is geometrically divided between the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, the two leading parties, one of which is careful never to ſet its foot on the other's ground: on only croſſing this ſquare, you ſee which ſide has the better of the war; this is manifeſt in the exultation of the victors, and the dejection of the loſing party. News is expected there with more impatience than in the cabinet of any one ſovereign of Europe. Alexander VII, and Clement XII, in that ſquare, ſee more ſchemes laid in one ſummer, than the Cracovia tree of the palace of Luxemburg at Paris ſees brought forth in four campaigns. Each party is headed by chiefs diſtinguiſhed for their political fanaticiſm. Theſe it is who authenticate news, who fix projects, who exult at victories, and who bear the burthen of miſcarriages.

On a deciſive victory the vanquiſhed party never ſhews its face in the ſquare, till ſome fortunate event revives its hopes; its chiefs do not ſo much as appear in public, and the victorious party, being maſters of all the great ſquare, ſometimes make public rejoycings, which the government tolerates. In 1757, on the news of a blow the king of Pruſſia had received in Bohemia or Sileſia, the Auſtrian party, after a formal entertainment given by the marquis*** its chief, had made a bonfire in the ſquare, the decorations of which terminated in the Pruſſian arms, which, as a worthy concluſion of the feſtivity, were by means of fire-works ſplit into ſhivers, and ſcattered all over the ſquare. The head of this ſame party was afterwards ſo nonpluſſed by the battle of Roſbach, as to keep to his room for a month.

Demoſthenes, in the portico of Athens, uſed to ſay to the Athenians, "When you get together "here, you are buzzing with one another, what "news? what news? Pray, what greater news "can you hear, than what is before you?"

Previouſly to our taking leave of Ravenna we muſt obſerve, that facing one of its fineſt ſtreets, in a wall of which is fixed a fragment of Theodoric's ſuperb tomb, is a ſmall open temple, ſeparated from the ſtreet only by ſome iron work; here lye the remains *del divino Dante*, who, being baniſhed his country, came and ſettled at Ravenna, where he died in 1341. This monument was erected to him by Bembo father to the famous cardinal of that name, and proveditor at Ravenna for the Venetians: on it is Dante's effigy, with this epitapth, very well known indeed,

indeed, but too honourable, both to the magiſtrate who erected it, and the poet to whom it is erected, to be omitted here.

Exigua tumuli, Dantes, hic ſorte jacebas,
Squallenti nulli cognite pœne ſitu,
At nunc marmoreo ſubnixus conderis arcu
Omnibus et cultu ſplendidiore nites.
Nimirum Bembus muſis incenſus êtruſcis
Hoc tibi quem imprimis hæ coluere, dedit.

It has likewiſe another epitaph in rhyming hexameters, of which the laſt two lines are theſe:

Hic claudor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit pravi *Florentia mater* amoris

This ſcandalous charge is very common in the mouths of the Venetians towards the Florentines, who give them as good as they ſend; *Va à Firenze*, in the mouth of a Venetian, and *Va à Venezia*, in the mouth of a Florentine, anſwer to the phraſe uſed in France among the mobility, to get rid of a troubleſome ſubject. Concerning this, I was told that a Venetian and a Florentine, who had never been from home before, meeting at Rome, the Venetian ſaid to the Florentine, *V. S. a mai vèduto Venezia? Signor nò*, anſwered the Florentine. *Ah!* continued the Venetian, *va à Venezia, e poi mori.* The Florentine aſking the ſame queſtion of the Venetian, and he likewiſe anſwering in the negative, he replied: *va á Firenze, è fa ti b . . .* Thus is every province of Italy, denoted by different imputations, which to Italian ſprightlineſs are an inexhauſtible ſource of keen or dull jeſts, according to the difference of Genius's and taſtes.

Florence

Florence desirous of reconciling itself with the manes of an illustrious citizen, whom, during his life, it had persecuted, has several times applied for leave to bring away Dante's remains; but the people of Ravenna never could be brought to comply.

Ravenna, under the empire, had the privilege of coinage. Du Cange mentions a medal of Honorius with these letters on the exergue of the reverse, R. V. P. S. which he renders, *Ravennæ pecunia signata.* Some coins are remaining of the kings who succeeded Theodoric, and by these coins Athalaric, Theodat, Vitiges, and Baduila retained some regard at least in this point for the majesty of that empire which they had dismembered: indeed the king of Persia himself was equally observant of this badge of superiority. Almost all the coins of these Ostrogoth kings have the head of Justinian I. with his name and titles, D. N. P. F. A, and on the reverse the heads of one of those kings, with only the title of Rex. The ancient coins of the popes are likewise monuments of the supremacy which the emperors retained over the patrimony of the church, even since Charelemain's grant; and they are the more decisive, as bearing the image of the prince, and only the name or monogram of the pope, in whose pontificate they were coined, or of St Peter or St. Paul. The kings of France, acknowledging, from the very origin of the monarchy, no temporal authority over theirs, were the only sovereigns who might cause money to be coined in their name and with their image only. *Nummos*, says Procopius, speaking of these sovereigns, *cudunt*

dunt ex auro Gallico, non imperatoris ut fieri ſolet, ſed ſuâ impreſſos effigie. Monetam quidem argenteam Perſarum rex, arbitratu ſuo, cudere conſuevit: auream verò neque ipſi, neque alii cuipiam Barbarorum regi, quamvis auri domino, vultu proprio ſignare non licet.

FERRARA.

Ferrara is but three poſts, that is between fourteen and fifteen leagues from Ravenna, up the country. All theſe parts were formerly one continued marſh; but now nature, with the aſſiſtance of art, has formed them into lands to which no good quality is wanting:

Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono:

But the hands which ſhould cultivate them ſeem to be influenced by the continual decline of the ſovereign. On the grounds which command the old marſhes ſtand conſiderable towns, as Bagna-Cavallo, Cotignola, Lugo, Argenta, S. Giorgio.

Bagna-Cavallo, formerly called *Ad Caballos*, is famous as the birth-place of Bartholomew Ramenghi, who, on the death of Francia, became head of the painting ſchool formed at Bologna by that maſter in the 16th century. Ramenghi, but better known by the name of Bagna-Cavallo, equalled Perugino, rivalled Raphael, and was maſter to the famous Primaticia, whom Francis I. invited into France, where he ſettled on him the abbey of St. Martin-es-aires de Troyes. Vaſari praiſes his *maniera dolce, ſicura e unita di diſegno e di colorito:*

which Guido and Albano imitated and adopted, eſpecially in children.

At Bagna-Cavallo we ſaw a large and beautiful villa, or rather indeed palace, belonging to a gentleman of the country, who entertained us with a walk over a ſpacious garden, curiouſly laid out in exotic plants, under the direction of a gardener, that appeared to us a very great botaniſt.

Cotignola has likewiſe given its name to a painter of the Bologna ſchool, and contemporary with Bagna-Cavallo. This place, once fortified by the famous John D'Agut, to whom Gregory XI. had given it as a fief, in recompence for his ſervices to the Holy See, when Gonfalonier, and now almoſt a deſart, was the nurſery of a houſe which ſhone with an almoſt momentary blaze among the ſovereign houſes of Europe. I mean the Sforzas, dukes of Milan. Brantome, and the hiſtorians of Italy agree with him, gives us a ſketch of the no leſs aſtoniſhing than rapid fortune of the head of this houſe.

"I have heard," ſays that French Plutarch, "I have frequently heard in Naples, that Francis "Sforza, whom Philip de Comines, yet with great "encomiums, makes only a ſhoemaker's ſon, "ſeeing, when a boy at work in the field, ſome "ſoldiers paſs along, hearty looking men, well "armed, and cavalierly clad, was taken with the "fight: the temptation faſtened on him, he muſt "needs make the like figure, leave his mechani-"cal trade, and turn ſoldier. So taking his zappa, "or pick-ax, as the Neopolitan calls it, he threw "it up in a tree, ſaying, Away with thee, away "with

" with thee; and if thou lodgeſt in the tree, with-
" out falling down back to me, ſo be it, and in-
" ſtead of thee, I will handle arms. It happened
" that the pick-ax lodged in the tree, and Sforza
" rejoicing at the omen, inliſted and became
" the moſt celebrated commander, that Chriſten-
" dom has ſeen for theſe three thouſand years, per-
" formïng ſuch glorious atchievement as greatly
" raiſed his family, for his deſcendants came to
" be dukes of Milan." Brantome did not know, or had forgot that the grandeur of this houſe was promoted, not by the children of this firſt Sforza, but by a baſtard of his who inherited all his military qualities.

At Lugo we fell in with a fair, where all the pedlars of the Romaneſe, the Venetian territories and part of Lombardy, were got together under a very ſpacious market-houſe. Being willing to be dealing like the reſt, I exchanged ſome louis-d'ors to pretty good advantage. Bookſellers follow all theſe fairs: a practice which has not been adopted in France. Are then the French bookſellers leſs eager after gain than thoſe of Italy, or is reading and a taſte for books more general in Italy than in France? Lugo formerly ſtood in the centre of a foreſt, the only ſpot in this part of Romania which was not ſwampey.

San-Georgio, which the Po ſeparates from Ferrara, was the nurſery of the latter: ſome revolution, of which we have no certain epocha, having obliged the inhabitants of Ferrariola, whoſe patron was St. George, to ſhelter themſelves acroſs the Po from an enemy who was maſter of Romania, they threw themſelves among theſe marſhes, which,

which, though then impracticable, Ferrara and its territory are ſince riſen. Some hiſtorians ſuppoſe Attila to have been this formidable enemy.

The Po, which runs ſouth and eaſtward of Ferrara, is the firſt of the arms by which this river diſcharges itſelf into the Adriatic at Porto Primaro, ſome leagues above Ravenna. From this arm the Romans had drawn a canal, by Pliny called *foſſa Marſanicia* or *Mauriciana*. This canal, which, leaving the lake of Commachio on the left, went as far as Modena, taking Ravenna in its way, has now little or no water.

The mouth of this branch of the Po was famous in antiquity, on account of the town of Spina, built there by the ancient Pelaſgi *. In the early ages of this city, which was the Tyre and Venice of theſe coaſts, it had ſent to the temple of Delphi ſome offerings, the richneſs and delicacy of which continued to be admired in the moſt brilliant ages of Greece and Rome. The ſea, in the midſt of which it was ſituated, inſenſibly withdrew from it, ſo that, ſo long ago as Strabo's time, it was ninety ſtades, that is about three French leagues diſtant. Not a trace is to be ſeen of this city; and if the ſea has continued receding from it in a progreſſive proportion to the alluvion it has formed on this coaſt ſince Strabo's time, the remains of Spina muſt be looked for five or ſix leagues up the country.

Ferrara though larger, better built and more regular, yet is more thinly peopled than Ravenna, ſo that, within a circuit of above a league,

* Dion. Halic. l. 1. Strab. l. 5. Plin. l. 3. c. 15.

it

it ſcarce contains 4000 inhabitants; and the much greater part of theſe are the garriſon, the legate's retinue, and the ſecular and regular clergy. I here waited on the marquis Bevilaqua, a branch of one of the firſt and moſt ancient families of the Ferrareſe. This nobleman gives himſelf up to the more abſtruſe ſciences with great aſſiduity, and his only relaxation is phyſical experiments, for which he has a moſt elegant and complete ſet of inſtruments and machines, together with a work-ſhop, where theſe machines are made under his inſpection, and ſometimes by his own hands.

I likewiſe paid my reſpects to the marquis Pallavicini, who, by his diſtinguiſhed behaviour in the ſervice of the empreſs queen, had been raiſed to the rank of field-marſhal. He is ſettled at Ferrara, having lately purchaſed all the free lands remaining to the houſe of Eſte, of which Clement VIII. had been pleaſed to leave it in poſſeſſion, when he ſtripped it of Ferrara. Theſe eſtates, which it had preſerved down to theſe times, conſiſt of ſeveral fine parcels of land, yet without either inhabitants or cultivation. M. Pallavicini intends to improve them, by means of German ſettlers. Since the emperor became maſter of Tuſcany, he had formed and begun to put in execution ſuch a ſcheme for clearing the heaths between Piſa and Leghorn; but from the manner of going about it no ſucceſs could be expected. Theſe poor coloniſts were ſet down among the heaths which were to be cleared, without preparing for them any ſhelter againſt the weather; without providing any ſubſiſtence for them, till they got ſome ſupply from their improvements; and without

without furniſhing them with the neceſſary implements for ſetting about their work.

Ergo ægrè terram roſtris rimantar & ipſis
Unguibus.

Accordingly two winters brought this colony to a moſt diſtreſsful end. By the very ſame negligence, it is ſaid, the French colonies of Madagaſcar, Miſſiſippi, *&c.* came to nothing; whereas M. Pallavicini in his ſettlements will imitate the care, foreſight, and liberality of the Engliſh. All he apprehended was futurity, and the influence of the Italian air, and the example of the natives on the third and fourth generation of the laborious Germans, who will be for enjoying the common rights and privileges of Papimania, that region of ſloth, ſlumber, and indolence.

The ſtrong propenſity of theſe Papimanians to inactivity is grounded on the condition of the lands, all being annexed either to beneficed clergy, of whoſe luxury alms are a part, or to charitable foundations, which here, I take upon me to ſay, are carried to exceſs, in favour of every human want. Sloth would equally prevail in any country where the like reliefs are provided for it. The nature of the government has likewiſe ſome ſhare in this ſupinity, even in the impoſition of the taxes, which, ſo far from offering incentives to induſtry, muſt naturally ſtifle it in all the objects on which it could faſten.

Theſe conſiderations were the ſubject of a long converſation in traverſing the lonely ſtreets of Ferrara, with an abbé of an illuſtrious family in this city,

city, who was pleaſed to be my conductor. He was a perſon of very amiable manners, and knew a great deal; he was of the ſame mind with La Fontaine himſelf, concerning the felicity of *this good country*; and demonſtrated it from all the little inconveniencies attending every other ſyſtem: at length being driven out of all his intrenchments, he reduced the happineſs of the papal territories to this, that, ſaid he, no body comes to run away with our wives, or raviſh our daughters. I could not put a more polite end to this converſation, than by the joke which roſe quite naturally from ſuch an obſervation in the mouth of an abbé. He took my raillery with all the good-nature in the world, and even brought it again on the carpet, at a houſe where we ſpent the evening.

In ſhort, were it not for the legate and the garriſon, who ſcatter a little money about Ferrara, the few inhabitants remaining in it would ebb away like the water of a pond with its dam broken: its whole commerce is ſo minute as to be included in the *Ghetto*, or Jews-quarter.

Yet did this city and its dependencies ſwarm with inhabitants under the houſe of Eſte; and eſpecially the latter ſovereigns of that houſe, who worthily ſuſtained the honour of the alliance with France, the princeſs Renée, daughter of Lewis XII. being given in marriage to Hercules II.

"Both," ſays Brantome, "very gallant and "brave princes, whoſe hearts were thoroughly "French, and never failing in the obligations they "owe to our kings; theſe were that great cardinal "of Ferrara, and the magnificent cardinal d'Eſte! "I may ſay of them, that I have ſeen them ſhew

"themſelves

" themſelves a hundred times better Frenchmen " than ſeveral born ſuch; and they uſed very " earneſtly to adviſe Meſſieurs d'Guiſe, their ne- " phews, to be obedient to their king. In a word, " they deſerved being grandſons to Lewis XII.

" No prince in Chriſtendom behaves better to- " wards his ſubjects, than the preſent duke of " Ferrara *(a)*, impoſing no further taxes than " what are abſolutely neceſſary, and, on any juſt " repreſentation of grievances, immediately re- " dreſſing them. Accordingly he is beloved among " them, as his grandfather, king Lewis, was by " us, and it proſpers with him accordingly; ſo that " I queſtion whether any prince in theſe parts of " the world has more ready money at com- " mand."

The ſame author gives us a detail of the ſervices done by that houſe to France, either by feats of arms, or by the magnificence and ſpirit with which cardinal Hyppolyte d'Eſte ſupported the French name at Rome, *He would not for all the world that any Spaniſh or Italian cardinal ſhould, in grandeur or any thing whatever, out-do a French cardinal.*

The re-union of Ferrara to the Holy See is, perhaps, the greateſt blow which the court of Rome has ever ſtruck openly, and in ſpite of all the Italian powers, whom cardinal d'Oſſat * imagined to be as determined, as they were concerned, to prevent that re-union. Several circumſtances concurred to its ſucceſs: the death of Philip II. of Spain; the eaſy compliance of Henry IV. of

(a) Alphonſo II. laſt duke of Ferrara.

* See his letters in the year 1537.

France

France with Clement the VIIIth's views, and the total imbecility of the presumptive heir. The jesuits did good service to the Aldobrandini family, and forwarded matters by the negociations which they set on foot at Madrid, at Paris, and Ferrara. There must be very substantial proofs, to warrant a surmise, that the large sums for which the Valois family was still behind-hand to the house of Este, had any share in Henry the IVth's conduct on this great affair.

Ferrara, being very opulent and powerful before it came under the house of Este, had long and cruelly experienced the evils connected with anarchy: the loss of its liberty was a great gain to it. The author of a chronicle in the 13th century thus describes its former condition, *Collisi sunt cives Ferrariæ alterutrum, nunc rebus male secundis, nunc adversis. Audivi à majoribus natu, quod in quadraginta annorum curriculo altera pars alteram decies è civitate extruserat*, &c. *Accepi puer a genitore meo hiberno tempore confabulante mecum in lare, quod viderat in civitate Ferrariæ turres altas* 32, *quas mox vidit prosterni ac dirui.*

The particulars of these intestine revolutions are to be found in Muratori's 54th dissertation. The house of Este owed the beginning of its grandeur to one of those revolutions which I shall relate. About the middle of the 12th century, Ferrara was divided between the Guelfs and Gibelines, almost to a numerical precision; the chief of one of these parties was the elder Salinguerra, of the other William de la Marchesella: the latter died in 1190, and, leaving only a daughter, the wisest heads of both parties thought nothing could

could be better than for this heireſs to marry young Salinguerra, as thus the whole city would be united under one head, and concord and tranquility be reſtored, inſtead of the broils and intrigues, the effects of a plurality of chiefs. But the Ravenna Guelfs, coming with an armed force, and carrying off the intended bride, married her to one d'Eſte, who became the chief of the party which his father in law had headed, and who, beſides animmenſe fortune, did by this marriage pave the way for his family to the ſovereignty of Ferrara. The diſturbances and reciprocal expulſions related in the above-mentioned chronicle were the fruits of this marriage, and of the irreconcileable competition of the two parties, between whom fortune ſeemed to have obſerved an alternative. Such was the condition of Ferrara for fifty years. It was concerning theſe factions with which, at the ſame time, almoſt all the cities in Italy were rent, that Dante ſays in his Purgatory.

Le città d'Italia tutte piene
Son di tiranni, ed un Marcel diventa
Ogni Villan che parteggiando viene.

In the great ſquare at Ferrara are two bronze ſtatues of ancient ſovereigns of this ſtate; one on horſeback, the other on foot: the equeſtrian has nothing more to be admired in it, than that in the Nave of notre Dame at Paris; and that on foot might, by the attitude, be taken for a cobler in his ſtall. The arts were then in their infancy; and that they were raiſed out of it, is not a little owing

ing to the deſcendants of thoſe ſovereigns ſo ill repreſented.

In the diſtribution of its ſtreets and ſquares, and in its public, private, and ſacred buildings, Ferrara ſtill exhibits very ſtately monuments of the magnificence of the houſe of Eſte, and of the taſte which its example and encouragements promoted. The learned inveſtigations of Cyntio Giraldi and of Celio Calcagnini, two of the brighteſt philologiſts of the 16th century, are ſome fruits of the favour which this houſe ſhewed to literature, and to ſuch of its ſubjects as cultivated it with diſtinction. In ſhort, Arioſto's famous poem gives us, as I may ſay, a ſpecimen of the genius of a court, which Brantome ſays, ſurpaſſed all others for elegance, politeneſs, delicacy, and courteſy. In the church of the Benedictines lies this poet, who if there ever was one, was a poet. His buſt, which is as big as life and of white marble, is the principal piece of the tomb, which was erected to him by Auguſtine Muſti, one of his friends and countrymen. Hither his aſhes have been removed from the cloyſter of the ſame houſe, where, at firſt, he had been interred. In his firſt burial place was a ſonnet, which I ſhall inſert, both from reſpect to his memory to whom it was conſecrated, and to the piece itſelf, as worthy to be diſtinguiſhed from the crowd of ſuch compoſitions, with which all parts of Italy are moſt diſgracefully over-run.

Qui giace l' Arioſto: Arabi Odori
Spiegate, O Aure, à queſta Tomba intorno;

Tomba ben degna d' immortali honori ;
Ma troppo à ſi grand alma humil Soggiorno.
Oſſa felici, voi d' incenſi e di fiori
Habbiate il Buſto qu' hor cinto e adorno ;
E da li Heſperi liti e da li Eoi
Vengan mille bell' alme á veder voi.
Qui giace quel che cantò il ſeme di Ruggiero :
Fermate paſſi al ſuo Sepolecro avante :
Dite ; e pur in parte direte il Vero.

Che n' quanto é ſotto al grand peſo d' Atlante,
Non fu di Cintio al ſacro regno,
Spirto piu bel, nè piu ſublime ingegno.

To thoſe celebrated perſons, of whoſe birth Ferrara makes its boaſt, may be added the famous Savonarola, cardinal Bentivoglio and father Riccioli, the eminent aſtronomer and mathematician.

The cathedral of Ferrara in its preſent modern form, and both the town and country palace of the archbiſhop, were the works of cardinal Rufo, dean of the ſacred college, who died in our time. What Ferrara is daily loſing of its grandeur in Soſtanza, by the decreaſe of its inhabitants, is made up, as much as can be, by a grandeur in Apparenza, which this cardinal has ſecured to it, by procuring it the title of an archbiſhoprick.

It had formerly a painting ſchool, of which it has preſerved ſome valuable monuments in the works of the Doſſi's, the Scarſellini's, the Bonnoni's and painters, of whom we have a hiſtory by Abbe Barufaldi. The manner of this ſchool appeared to me, as far as I am a judge, a happy mixture of

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the Venetian taſte and that of the Carrachi's. Some churches, ſuch as St. Francis and St. Mary of the Angels, are like academies, in which the works of the Ferrareſe painters are confuſedly intermixed with pieces of the Carrachi's, Guerchini's, &c. and make a good figure among them. The church of the Benedictines in the firſt chapel on the left has St. Jerome, which immediately fixed my attention, and I ſeveral times viſited it with freſh pleaſure. Few pictures have ever come in my way, where all the parts of painting, and their moſt happy effects, are united in ſo ſtriking a manner.

None of our predeceſſors, in a journey through Italy, has forgot the life of Jeſus Chriſt, in a ſeries of paintings diſtributed among the chapels of the church of the Carthuſians. Theſe pieces, which ſeem to be all by the ſame hand, look rather like colourings ſpattered on a ground of pitch than paintings. I take them to have been done by ſome of the fathers of the houſe.

On this head, I cannot forbear expreſſing a concern, that painting and drawing are not uſually made one of the works of amuſement, which St. Bruno allows to his diſciples. The fine prints with which the Carthuſians adorn their cells, the excellent paintings in many of their houſes, the old and the new teſtament, the moſt familiar object of their meditations, opening an immenſe field both for the crayon and pencil, ſeem a foundation for a ſchool, where the ideas concentered by ſolitude, nouriſhed by reflections, remote from all diſtractions, and likewiſe free from that wretched thraldom to maſters and patrons,

might take thoſe happy flights which produce maſter-pieces. It muſt certainly be apprehended that this work, permitted only as an amuſement, would degenerate into an occupation. This, with ſubmiſſion, is an idle ſort of fear in a ſtate of life, where the vacuity of the head is a danger ever preſent, and the very greateſt danger, at leaſt for the generality of the monks.

I ſhall now take my final leave of Ferrara, with a word or two of a little extortion which we met with on paſſing through it a ſecond time, in our way from Venice to Rome.

We had come poſt to Ferrara, and afterwards gone from it by water to Venice, and were returned from Venice to Ferrara the ſame way. Our chaiſe we had left at Ferrara, having agreed with the poſtmaſter, at whoſe inn we had quartered, for a ſhelter for it during our abſence. Some days before our return a new legate was come to Ferrara, with a great many equipages, drawn by hackney horſes, whoſe owners were looking out for returns to Rome. One of theſe offered us horſes for our chaiſe, and, after wavering a day or two, we came to an agreement with him, but had afterwards very great cauſe heartily to repent of it, both on account of the inconveniencies to which our conductor deſignedly put us, during the whole journey, and even of the charge, which, every thing included, exceeded the poſt. We were juſt ſetting out for Rome; our portmanteaus were placed, the houſe was diſcharged, and the horſes at the door; when in comes the oſtler, acquainting us, that beſides our chaiſe ſtanding, we muſt pay the poſt three times, though we had not gone that way, for

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as we had come to Ferrara poſt, we were not to have made uſe of any other voiture in going to Venice, in returning from thence, and laſtly in our quitting Ferrara.

The demand was founded in this, throughout the pope's dominions, as in moſt of the Italian ſtates; travellers coming to a place by poſt, and leaving it within two days, are obliged either to take poſt, or to pay for it, if going by any other convenicy. Coming up in the midſt of the diſcuſſion occaſioned by ſuch an exaction, I repreſented that, as we had ſtaid eight days at Ferrara, and had left our chaiſe there for a whole month, while at Venice, we were not within that rule; at length thinking to give more than could be required, I offered to pay the poſt once; but the extortion intended us was a thing ſettled, and my offers were as little minded as my repreſentations. On this I haſtened to the legate's palace, where I promiſed myſelf juſtice. The firſt office I applied to, was that of the legate's ſecretary, a very ſmart polite young man. He ſoon perceived my caſe, pitied the ill uſage travellers underwent, and gave me to hope that I ſhould be righted. The legate, to whom I was afterwards introduced, referred me to his auditor, who it ſeems took cognizance of all ſuch particulars. This worthy ſage of the law was at his deſk buſied about an affair, of which I patiently waited the end; but now and then he caſt a look at me, *con l'occhio dele canone*, as the devil looks over Lincoln, and his inauſpicious looks ſufficiently prognoſticated his deciſion. Afterwards he came up to me with the mien and voice of an attorney to a ruined client, and taking me for

for a Frenchman, *Voi Franceſi*, ſaid he abruptly, *v'imaginate che tutto il mondo ſia il voſtro ſchiavo*, you fancy all the world to be your ſlaves; at this comes forth from his cloſet the poſt-maſter. Such an apparition at once put an end to all expoſtulation, and I cut ſhort, ſaying to the auditor, in a word, ſir, I come to ſolicit juſtice for an injury which this honourable gentleman intends againſt us, and with which he has, no doubt, made you acquainted. Are we to pay him the poſt three times, or twenty times? *Tre*, replied he, *o che la ſedia reſti*, i. e. three times or the chaiſe ſhall not ſtir: at this I threw down three ſequins on the deſk, ſaying, that the overplus ſhould be for *la buona mancia*, for the guide to drink; and we went away reflecting on that time celebrated by Brantome, when Ferrara for *courteſy*, *civility*, *and politeneſs was the mirrour of the world*, eſpecially to the French *(a)*.

Theſe particulars may, perhaps, appear light and ſuperfluous; but, beſides not being void of inſtruction to travellers, they make amends for the too great ſerioufneſs of other articles.

I have perhaps already ſaid too much of our going from Ferrara to Venice by water. The

(a) We had been perpetually reminded of this by our landlord's father, an old hunks always ſitting with his noſe over the fire. This ſnarling grey-beard honoured the French with the moſt virulent hatred an Italian is ſuſceptible of againſt his worſt enemy; if he ſaw or did but hear, either our ſervants or ourſelves, he flew into a paſſion, and no name nor wiſh was bad enough for us. Theſe were the things he was continually harping on, whilſt we only made a jeſt of his malignity. But as misfortunes are not without their uſe, this doggedneſs had prepared me for the auditor's reception.

firſt

first three miles from Ferrara we went in a boat, along a canal which unites the first arm of the Po to its principal bed; here we were shipped into a large bark or galliot, crouded with goods and passengers picked up along the great Po. There were some Mantua Jews, Verona Cordeliers, Italian fathers of St. Lazarus, going to Venice about erecting a house of their order in that city: each of these groupes kept by themselves and took their meals at different times. The Jews were pleased to cast an eye of predilection on me, which they shewed in pressing me to partake of some little pastry ware in their way, and an excellent rough wine, which was part of their store. I complied for the sake of good fellowship, and this commensality exhilarated our other fellow travellers, so that, to make the more sport, it was even moved to intimate to my new acquaintance, that I was a rabbi, travelling incognito; indeed, my only garment was a shabby sort of a riding coat, and this, doubtless, was what at first attracted their eye and gained me their good-will. This joke bid fair for much merriment, but the cordeliers took offence at it; *those creatures*, said the reverend fathers, *are our slaves, and it does not become masters to converse, much less to jest with their slaves.* Being desirous, however, of making something of the Lazarists, who were so full of their project, that they kept their places in profound silence, I represented to them what a favourable opportunity here was of throwing out a word of edification to the Jews, and trying to convert them: *Domine*, answered they, *non soumcus hîc pro hoc.*

After a very indifferent night in this vehicle, the dawn and ſun-riſing opened to us as glorious a ſpectacle as the richeſt imagination can form. We were then launching out of the Po into the ſea off Loréo. Near Malamocco, where we came in ſight of Venice, we were boarded and ſearched by the cuſtom-houſe officers, able bodied fellows, who originally had been watermen, and ſtill preſerved the garb of their primitive ſtation. Not a word do they utter, while they are ſearching, a duty they perform with great ſtrictneſs, ſounding with long ſtilettos ſuch bales and trunks as cannot be conveniently opened. I obſerved, that all the while, they eyed the countenances of the paſſengers full as much as the cloaths and goods. We entered the great canal of Venice about ſeven o'clock in the evening, on the 29th of July 1758.

VENICE.

This city is a myſtery, both in its ſituation and political conſtitution; but a myſtery long ſince cleared up in a multitude of writings, which have either laid open the very complicated ſprings of the Venetian government, or indicated the ſingularities in which art and nature have joined to embelliſh this city.

Yet, how converſant ſoever a perſon is with theſe writings, he cannot forbear being ſurprized at the firſt view, a view indeed beyond any ideas ariſing from the beſt relations and deſcriptions, or even beyond imagination.

We

We, at leaſt, were loſt in aſtoniſhment, and, without pretending to any new diſcoveries, employed ourſelves only in tracing and verifying the obſervations of others, ſo that this article will contain only common and trivial things, with no other merit than accuracy and truth; and I ſhall ſet them down without order or connection, juſt as chance threw them in our way.

The arms of France, an inn where we took up our quarters, engaged our firſt obſervations; here we found different ſorts of people, with whom we lived, as far as it ſuited us.

One of the gueſts was a young Spaniſh officer, who, by a privilege of which there are but two precedents, had obtained leave of his court to be abſent from his regiment, and to go abroad. Such an extraordinary leave had, doubtleſs, ſome ſecret commiſſion in view; and a ſecret it might have remained for me; however, dreading the very ſhadow of being diſcovered, he ſhifted his quarters, and thus we loſt a very ſenſible and entertaining companion.

The lawyer *(a)* Goldoni, Scarlati the celebrated muſician, and a young burgher of Bale, made up for thoſe acquaintances to which we were not diſpoſed, and likewiſe for the loſs of the Spaniſh officer. The firſt, beſides his very eminent talents, is of a temper and turn of mind ſo ſerene,

(a) The Italian has nothing of the whimſicalneſs of the French language, with regard to placing the ranks and ſtations, with the names of perſons. For inſtance, the French ſay, preſident N. marſhal N. cardinal N. whereas to ſay biſhop N. counſellor N. lawyer N. col. N. capt. N. imply contempt. In Italian all titles precede the names with equal decency.

ſo open and pleaſing, as would conciliate eſteem and affection, if he had nothing elſe to recommend him. A Plautus, a Terence, and a Moliere, form his whole library, and the world and mankind are what he chiefly ſtudies. From that inexhauſtible mine, his keen and experienced penetration readily embelliſhes his compoſitions with characters ever real, with all the light gradations which paſſions throw on every character, and with very ſtriking ſituations yet as natural: laſtly, with thoſe fooleries which are perpetually ſpringing up amidſt the world, but, not being taken notice of, expire in the birth *(a)*. In a word, Goldoni is fertile, ſimple, and various, as nature itſelf; but as unequal and uncultivated. For readihe never had his fellow.

A petty apothecary, whom a foreigner had made uſe of, in the want of his money, uſed to be daily coming to us with bill in hand, plaguing us about this debt. One day finding Goldoni in our apartment, he begged him to ſtand his friend; accordingly, Goldoni bethought himſelf of writing in the apothecary's name to the cardinal miniſter for foreign affairs at Verſailles, and calling for pen and paper, wrote him, off hand, an excellent piece of drollery, in a letter of four large pages well filled; it was a ſtring of jeſts. Goldoni is come to be an architect by plaſtering, that is, by copying when he was a youth, and then hazarding ſome ſtop-gaps of his own for companies of Italian

(a) It is of this kind of wit that Mr. Paſcal uſed to ſay, "the more wit one has, the more originals one finds among "men, whereas your common people diſcern no difference "between men."

ſtrollers.

ſtrollers. He acquainted us, that above all things, he longed to go to Paris, purely to ſtudy the French taſte and manners, with a view to retouch, and even caſt anew ſome of the pieces he has publiſhed, to publiſh more; and, for the entertainment of France and the honour of Italy, to open in the Burgundy-hotel a carreer, both more extenſive and more brilliant, than that in which the Italian comedians have drawled on ever ſince their ſettlement in France. I was not wanting, even while at Venice, to communicate this ſcheme to one whom I thought a proper perſon, but he declined it, and it ſeems from reaſons of devotion. Sometimes we ſpent whole days with this Venetian Moliere, who ſhewed us a real affection. Theſe days uſed to begin by drinking chocolate with him, and concluded with public or private concerts, to which, under his auſpices, we were readily admitted. One of theſe evenings was filled up with a comic opera. Goldoni and Scarlati, unwilling that we ſhould go away without ſeeing ſomething of their ſtage, all the theatres being then ſhut, had been at the trouble of getting together a choſen ſet of actors, who played one of their beſt pieces of this ſort, in the hall of St. John Chryſoſtom's theatre *(a)*.

(a) At Venice are ſeven or eight theatres, belonging to the moſt eminent families, who let them out, and indeed are often at the head of partnerſhips who defray the expences, and receive the profits of the theatres; theſe are called by the name of the church to which they are neareſt. Though they open at the ſame hour, ſometimes all are crowded. The cauſe of ſuch a reſort is, that the theatres act only about four months in the whole year.

Goldoni

Goldoni made us acquainted with ſome of his intimates, perſons of the ſame turn of mind and genius as himſelf. Of theſe, one of the principal was a painter, who, being fond of travelling, had gone into Germany when but a boy, and ſcarce fit to paint a ſign. Many had been the adventures which he met with, and he uſed to tell them with a ſpirit and humour ever new, even to Goldoni himſelf. In other reſpects we lived as all foreigners do at Venice. The days were taken up in excurſions, with our book in our hand, reading in our Gondola, the deſcription of every object of curioſity, in order to our viewing it to greater advantage. Every evening St. Mark's ſquare was our conſtant rendezvous.

In this ſeaſon the *Relaters* had poſſeſſion of it, a kind of mountebanks who half naked relate *con parole ſchiette (a)*, and with all the action, heat, and pathos of the buſkin, a thouſand wonderful ſtrange events: every narrative laſts juſt as the ſpeaker pleaſes; the people ſtand round with their arms acroſs, their legs ſprawling, their eyes on the ground, and liſtening with the greateſt attention. Between the legs of the moſt forward in the circle, children ſquat themſelves down, and ſhew the ſame attention. Very often perſons of credit, and even nobles mingle in the crowd. It was twice my lot to be the firſt butt of theſe narrations: the relater ſtopt me ſaying, *Signor che aſcolti una gran coſa, una coſa ſtupenda (b)*, then drawing back from me, he ſpoke or rather roared like a

(a) In a terſe language.

(b) Sir, ſtay and hear ſomething really great, ſomething amazing.

demoniac,

demoniac, and the circle ſoon gathered. Theſe orators do not formally aſk any thing of their audience; but, in the moſt intereſting and pathetic parts, as when a princeſs drops a poiniard, or with a noble indignation throws away a ſeductive letter, the relater's hat is made the poiniard or letter, and thrown in the middle of the circle, with the inſide always uppermoſt, and the audience are pretty liberal of their copper. The relater, without ſeeming to mind the contribution, or breaking off his ſtory, takes up his hat, which he afterwards makes uſe of to heighten ſome new pathos. Goldoni was excellent in mimicking every particular of theſe mountebanks; it is his uſual diſguiſe, when he has a mind to partake of the entertainments which the Venetian nobility give in thoſe fine houſes on the banks of the Brenta.

We ſometimes had the diverſion of hearing in St. Mark's place, ſome man of the very loweſt claſs, a ſhoemaker, a blackſmith, in his working cloaths, begin an *Aria*, in which he was ſoon joined by others of his ſtamp, thus ſinging this *Aria* in ſeveral parts, and with a juſtneſs and humour ſcarcely to be met with among people of the beſt faſhion in our northern countries.

After taking the air and ſharing the diverſions of St. Mark's ſquare, we uſed to adjourn to Paſquali, or ſome other bookſeller's ſhop. Theſe are the uſual rendezvous for foreigners and nobles: here one meets with converſations ſometimes very improving, ſometimes copiouſly ſeaſoned with Venetian ſalt, which ſavours much of Grecian Atticiſm and French gaiety without being either.

From

From Paſquali's ſhop we uſed, according to the cuſtom of the country, to go and ſup at a coffee-houſe.

That which we uſed was kept by a Greek, under the new *Procurazias*, and for a waiter he had a young countryman of his, whoſe head, ever cloſe ſhaved and bare, was, in its exact roundneſs, the ſymbol of his mind; and his neck, likewiſe bare, ſeemed by its diameter to be part of his head. A ſhirt without collar or wriſtbands, and a Grecian pair of breeches, were all the cloaths he had brought from his country. Our dropping him now and then ſome *bajoccos*, and aſſuring him that, if he minded his buſineſs, we would make him doge, delighted him to ſuch a degree, that he could not contain himſelf for joy at the firſt glimpſe of us. Never did Momus himſelf laugh ſo heartily.

Theſe ſuppers removed all my prejudices about the reſerve to which the Venetians are tied down in news and politicks. Venice, in this point, is on a footing with every part of Italy. The talk of the whole company, who ſucceſſively filled our coffee-houſe, turned on nothing elſe. They were glad or ſorry at the news of the day; they affirmed or denied it according as it made for or againſt the party which each had eſpouſed. The bulk of theſe politicians, divided between two parties, which at preſent ſet Europe in a flame, no farther concerned itſelf about any ſecondary power, than ſubordinately to the general intereſt of the alliance in which it was a party; but the ſhrewdeſt politicians, abſtractively from alliances,

eſpouſed

eſpouſed only the particular intereſt of one belligerant power: one was a *geniale Franceſe* without being an Auſtrian; another an Auſtrian, yet equally execrating Pruſſia, France and Ruſſia; another was all for Pruſſia, yet cared not what became of England; another was a thorough Engliſhman, but indifferent about Pruſſia. The very neutral powers had both their warm friends and enemies. Theſe different views and jarring intereſts, produced a clatter and cacophony which was highly entertaining to us, eſpecially when a certain Venetian, an arch fellow, *gran furbo (a)*, and who expreſſed much friendſhip for us, going up to each of theſe politicians, whiſpered to him ſome news, generally an extemporary invention, either to the diſadvantage of that power of whom he was a profeſſed geniale, or to the advantage of that nation whom he was known to hate.

At the time of our retiring from St. Mark's ſquare, that is, about nine or ten o'clock at night, came on the ladies cheek by jole with their adorers; and there they ſpent the whole night ſauntring about, and now and then taking ſhort excurſions in a gondola, never returning home on feſtivals till, forſooth, they had been at maſs. It is only in this, that Venice now differs from the Venice of St. Didier, *la Haye*, *Miſſon*, *la Houſſaie*, and all the travellers of the laſt century. Venetian gallantry, now broke looſe from the ſhackles in which it languiſhed, has even thrown off the precautions ſtill retained in France. I forbear touching on many ſingular facts in this kind, which we

(a) The Italians uſe this expreſſion in a good ſenſe.

were

were informed of, confining myſelf to one which was notorious. The condition *(a)* of the courtezans, for a long time one of the greateſt curioſities of Venice, was in ſuch ſplendour at the beginning of this century, that an entertainment given by the women of that claſs to the prince of Denmark, quite eclipſed, both in ſumptuouſneſs and richneſs of dreſs and jewels, that which the ladies had given to the ſame prince.

That claſs now ſubſiſts only in books; and its manſions are reduced to nominal palaces and ſcandalous garrets. The ſtate inquiſition, beſides animadverting on diſorders, by which the honour of illuſtrious families may greatly ſuffer, keeps likewiſe a watchful eye on the ladies having any intercourſe with foreign miniſters, or their dependents, as being forbidden by the laws. In this caſe, ſuch ladies remaining incorrigible after repeated notices and the moſt ſerious admonitions, are ordered to their country ſeats.

Revolutions in gallantry recoil on company keeping; and within about two centuries gallantry, and conſequently company, have undergone three very ſignal revolutions at Venice. Before the Spaniards got footing in Italy, this charming country was divided among a multitude of petty princes, a voluptuous tribe, minding nothing but

(a) This condition was preciſely that, in which the Laïs', the Aſpaſias, the Leontiums, contributed to the illuſtration of the brilliant age of Athens; the very ſame as that in which Louiſa l'Abbé, Ninon l'Enclos, and Manon de l'Orme made themſelves a name which ſtill ſubſiſts: a condition infinitely leſs dangerous to public morality than that of *kept miſtreſſes*.

pleaſure;

pleaſure: the diverſions of their courts, their family pleaſures, were ſeaſoned with that eaſe, openneſs, and hilarity, which always accompany a well ſettled confidence, and with a freedom not cramped by any mixture, or ſo much as the looks of foreigners. Venice, being ſurrounded with theſe petty ſtates, the more readily gave into their manner, as it was perfectly in the Venetian taſte; and this diſpoſition was happily ſeconded by the riches with which Venice, at that time, might be ſaid to overflow.

All this ſyſtem of diverſion and pleaſure was overthrown by the vicinity of the Spaniards and of the courts of Vienna and Inſpruck. The Spaniſh gravity, the auſtere ceremonial of the imperial and arch-ducal courts, excluded all gaiety, eaſe, and freedom: gallantry became a kind of juggle or ledgerdemain, and pleaſure now no longer appeared but in a ruff; during this triſtful epocha, every one in company aſſumed his real or imaginary grandeur; ceremony was every where the word; and even parties of pleaſure were like Homer's combats, where the heroes, inſtead of fighting, diſplayed their genealogy, and vaunted the proweſs of their anceſtors.

The beginning of this century, the elector of Bavaria's long ſtay at Venice, and the example of ſome gentlemen who had ſeen Paris, and were much taken with it, introduced the French gallantry among the Venetians; not that gallantry now in vogue, but that introduced by madame Royale at Turin, and of which Hamilton has given ſuch a facetious account, *viz.* the gallantry of Lewis the XIVth's minority. All Venice uſed to have

their meetings almoſt every night; the ſcene of the nobility's pleaſure was among their own body: love was the more barefaced, from its objects being loſt in a croud; and jealouſy, perplexed, or put on a wrong ſcent by the univerſal purſuit of pleaſure, and often meeting with a compenſation in fortuitious gratifications, gave over ſhewing itſelf.

Unfortunately what had lulled aſleep men's jealouſy, rouzed and ſtimulated that of the women, and thus, thirty years ago, put an end to a mode of deportment, which, for ſociety's ſake, ſhould have been kept up to this day. Private connections have ſuperſeded the general ſyſtem: every one, taken up with the object of a real paſſion or a tranſitory liking, amuſes himſelf like a governor confined within his fortreſs in time of peace. All ſocial entertainments are proſcribed; the diſgrace of wives and of huſbands too is notorious, and as it were poſted up; and jealouſy, when irritated, now well knows where to ſtrike.

In the preſent ſtate of things, a noble Venetian, with whoſe ſtation, age, or diſpoſition, the part of a lover does not ſuit, is loſt to company. Under the firſt of the epochas beforementioned, there he had, at leaſt, the amuſement of the courtezans, which now is no more. This total want of pleaſures is come to affect the very conſtitution of the ſtate. It has ſilenced the law by which the nobility were forbid all intercourſe with one another. The ſtate indeed looks to their connections, allows of them only among ſuch whom it is ſure of, and every club or meeting is circumſcribed within a number which it muſt not exceed.

exceed. But are all these precautions equivalent to a law, of which all perpetually felt the hardship, and which yet all respected as essential to the constitution of the state?

The law against the nobility's having any intercourse with foreigners remains without any repeal or alteration; indeed, besides reasons of state, private interest joins to maintain it, especially the wealth of Venice being so much diminished, that œconomy is become of absolute necessity to the greatest part of the noble families. The same recommendations by which all the palaces of Italy, and the hearts of many Italians were open to me, I had to one of the two avogadors, and to some senators; yet never could I see these gentlemen, but in our nightly meetings at Pasquali's, and sometimes at the palace. In these casual interviews, nothing could be more polite and obliging; they always satisfied me in the most genteel manner concerning my questions; they should be glad to serve me in any thing within their power; but this was all the best recommendations could procure me.

To them, however, I was indebted for entrance into the Pregadi-hall, at a session of the great conncil, that is, of the whole republic solemnly assembled. We were detained in the lobby for a quarter of an hour, which, as word was brought us, was taken up in balloting, whether we should be admitted. I questioned a little whether this was in good earnest; still is it a very prudent way for reserving to themselves the power of not admitting every foreigner that is proposed.

On our admiſſion we were placed, or rather cocked up on the third ſtory of the ſeats againſt the wall fronting the harbour. On this ſeat were only ourſelves and a lawyer of Rome with his wife, a very fine woman and extremely well dreſſed; and who, as we were afterwards informed, had not come to Venice only to ſee St. Mark. Being ſeated ten or twelve feet above the floor of the hall, we could ſee and hear every thing, but not hold any regular converſation.

Before making any particular uſe of my eyes, I gave myſelf up to the ſentiments of veneration, which the ſight of the moſt auguſt aſſembly in the univerſe raiſes in the ſoul; and theſe were heightened by two maſterpieces of Palma and Tintoret, cloſe before us. In the former, under a ſplendid canopy floating on the aerial expanſe, is Venice, in a pacific character, crowned with olive, holding a ſcepter and ſitting on a throne, the baſe of which is the beak of a ſhip and trophies; round the throne, as emblems of ſubdued nations, are priſoners and ſlaves with their fetters broken, and their ſovereign looking down on them with a benign aſpect. The other, in the centre of the cieling, ſhews the queen of the Adriatic ſupported by Thetis and Cybele, and encircled by deities paying homage to her. On the ſecond compartment of this piece is the ſenate headed by the doge, to whom Venice ſends a laurel-wreath, by a lion near her, as waiting her commands. The firſt compartment is filled with a croud of ambaſſadors and deputies, who, in a ſuppliant manner, preſent to the republic the keys of their reſpective cities. The buſineſs of the council next drew

drew my attention, and this was the election of a capitan grande, and other officers, for one of the principal places in the continental dominions. These elections are carried on by repeated ſcrutinies, of which I could not but admire the diſpatch, without clearly entering into the conduct of them, though I had ſtudied it in Contareni, Granotti, and la Houſſaie, all minutely particular in their account of this game, which, it ſeems, is to be learned only by practice. All the republick's deliberations go by ballot: it obtained perhaps, with leſs intricacy, in the ancient Greek republicks, and, if not in the Roman ſenate, at leaſt in the comitia of the people; though Contareni looks on it, *ut à veterum Romanorum uſu longè remotam.* I only perceived that, for the places to be filled up, a certain number of competitors were immediately admitted, the firſt ſecretary of the council calling them with an audible voice, adding to their family name their chriſtian name and that of their father. Each competitor is ſucceſſively balloted for: ſeveral Charity-boys, in purple gowns, each taking a box with a handle to it, and the inſide divided into two partitions, carry theſe boxes along the ſeats, calling out the name of the perſon in queſtion. All theſe boxes are afterwards carried back to the eſtrade before the throne, where thoſe of the green partition, which denotes excluſion, and thoſe of the white, which declares for admiſſion, are ſeparately told over. During this enumeration, the nobles quit their ſeats, run about, call to one another, talk together, eat biſcuit, and drink wine or ratafia, which they bring in their large cap. Afterwards, at the ſtroke of a wand, a new name

is called over, and the troop of *Ballottini*, i. e. the charity-boys, ſet off again from the throne bawling out the new name. Every one now returns to his place, talks with his neighbour, or jokes with the *Ballottino*, who delivers to him the box and the ballot; and, amidſt talking and joking, without ſeeming to mind any thing of the ſcrutiny, the noble conveys his hand into the box through an horizontal aperture communicating with the two partitions; in one of which he drops his ballot, and he muſt be keen ſighted indeed who can perceive any thing of what paſſes between the hand and the partition. After all this apparent complexity, intereſt and long practice penetrate into all its mazes, ſo that very often this myſterious ſcrutiny is only matter of form.

During the interludes of this meeting, which laſted above three hours, a ſenator, a very handſome man, and with a glib tongue, kept talking in the Venetian way, with the Roman lady who had been cocked up with us; now the Venetian way is ſaying drolleries with the profoundeſt gravity. The lady's anſwers were in the Roman pronunciation and choice language, but not the ſame atticiſm.

At going out of the hall the ſame noble aſked me how I liked what I had ſeen. I anſwered, mightily, both as a perfect novelty, and as reminding me of ſeveral ſtates in Europe, the beſt heads of which could not go through ſuch a meeting, whatever lay at ſtake. *E per queſto*, replied the noble making off, *quelli ſtati non ſanno governarſi (a)*.

(a) Then thoſe ſtates know not how to govern themſelves.

The

The doge, Franceſco Loredano, had not been preſent; but ſome days after, being quite alone in that ſame hall, viewing the pictures which adorn every part of it, I heard a noiſe, and quickly turning about, there was the doge going acroſs with only two or three attendants. A fine old gentleman indeed, with all the freſhneſs of ſixty, at the advanced age of fourſcore, tall and ſtrait. His locks were of a ſilver white, pretty full, and ending in ringlets, which, from his face, hung down his ſhoulders. He had on the ducal cap, or *Corno*, and a very full ſcarlet gown, lined and faced with another colour. I was quite amazed at hearing he was blind; it was what could not be thought from the appearance of his eyes and the firmneſs of his head. I ſuppoſe the ſudden appearance of ſome deity muſt have had ſome ſuch effect on the primitive mortals as this had on me; I was ſtruck with wonder and reſpect.

I forgot mentioning that at the head of the ſeats which fill the Pregadi-hall, lengthwiſe, not tranſverſally as in churches, there is a kind of fir pulpit quite plain, as are the ſeats and the very throne. This pulpit is the *roſtrum*, where every noble, on the propoſal of any law, or on any other deliberation, may diſplay his elocution, a momentous part of the Venetian genius. Sometimes, to open a field for this elocution, and, at the ſame time, to rouze the people and bind them more and more to the ſtate, new taxes are propoſed, which, after many long ſpeeches *pro* and *con*, and ballottings without end, are rejected by a great majority.

Whilſt the Pregadi is ſetting, the nobility's barcarolles, or watermen, with their gondolas, lye along the canal behind the palace, and the key facing St. Mark's ſquare. The gondoliers account themſelves the ſecond body of the ſtate, and the natural defenders of the firſt, in caſe of any inſurrection againſt it, whilſt ſhut up in the palace; but it is chiefly in the winter Pregadis, as often ſitting very late, that their vigilance diſtinguiſhes itſelf. Every one keeps a ſtrict look out and ſtands to his poſt without any murmur or impatience, taking a pride in ſerving the ſtate, or, to uſe their phraſe, *per il principe:* being both the inſtruments and confidents of the nobility's pleaſures, and ſpies to the miniſtry, there is not one who does not fancy himſelf to be in the ſecret of the ſtate. Yet do they treat with the moſt open familiarity thoſe of their profeſſion, who, in the want of a ſettled ſervice, hire themſelves for jobbs, and all look on one another as brothers. This is the uſual term among them; they uſe it at meeting one another on the water; it is their common cry when near a canal into which they are both going, *per me, fradel, per me.* In a word, all parts ring with this compellation; amidſt the confuſions which are not uncommon, by the accidental concourſe of ſeveral gondolas in ſome canal, where there was before a ſtop, *Fradel,* ſay they, to one another, *non travagliar, non ſtraſciſſar i poveri Chriſtiani.* From the civility of theſe people, and the ſavageneſs of the coach and carmen of Paris and London on the like occaſions, the Venice gondoliers might be taken for religious and

and holy perſons, who, like St. Chriſtopher, ferry over travellers out of charity, and from a principle of religion. This difference of language and behaviour is principally owing to the ſobriety of the latter: a virtue ſo general in Italy, that, during my ſtay beyond the Alps, I never ſaw a man drunk, not even amidſt the meaneſt of the people.

I ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject with obſerving that the Gondoliers are a well made, robuſt, and very active race, and not without their ſhare of Venetian ſprightlineſs. Being continually either with the nobles, or the moſt ſubſtantial citizens and foreigners of diſtinction, who daily arrive at Venice, they often contribute to the converſation by ſtrictures of pleaſantry, in which they are allowed no ſmall freedom, as a few inſtances will ſhew.

The ſtreets of Venice are lighted with very ſmall lanthorns, like thoſe in the ſtreets of Paris. A nobleman going along a ſtreet where a gondolier was hanging up one, told him to raiſe it higher; it is high enough, anſwered the gondolier, for the horns of ſuch as we, but if too low for your excellency I will lift it higher. His excellency went off, and haſtened to entertain his friends with the gondolier's joke.

On St. Roch's day the ſignory goes in ſtation to that ſaint's church *(a)*. This ceremony is performed

(a) On that day, the painters of the preſent ſchool of Venice exhibit their annual performances in St. Roch's ſcuola. This ſcuola, one of the earlieſt in Venice, is full of New Teſtament paintings, by Tintoret, and in all worthy of ſo great a maſter; the Annunciation I was particularly

formed in *Peotes*, or decked barges, ſomething like the *port St. Paul*'s large paſſage boats at Paris. I happened to meet this proceſſion at a bridge under which it was going, in a pretty narrow canal. From this bridge two or three gondoliers, notable tongue-pads, fell foul of the ſtate gondoliers, though carrying the ſignory, and who were not wanting to reply; making a ſtop, theſe gentry engaged each other with a fluency and ſpirit which drew the ſignory to the windows of the *Peotes*, where I ſaw theſe venerable perſonages wonderfully delighted with the altercation. In a word, the gondoliers have the excluſive privilege which the duke *de Roquelaure* enjoyed at the court of Lewis XIV. To them are attributed all the witty ſayings, which, from decency or policy, the real fathers forbear owning. Such was that at the exaltation of the preſent pope, a Venetian, of which

larly taken with. The wall of the Virgin's chamber, towards the country, is falling down, and the angel with expanded wings comes flying through the breach. The exhibition for 1758 made no great figure, either for the number or excellency of the performances; the piece that pleaſed moſt was the portrait of the republic's head engineer. It ſeems, he was born of very mean parentage, and can neither read nor write; but pouring ſome wine on a table he traces out his deſigns to workmen, whom cuſtom has taught to comprehend his ideas, and execute them to his intire ſatisfaction. Odd as ſuch a way muſt ſeem, this new Archimedes reaches the utmoſt extent of mechanics; and ſuch were the engineers of thoſe rude ages, when the operation of military machines, and the conſtruction of ſhips and other buildings, were concerted in the head of artificers, whoſe knowledge went no farther than workmanſhip. Such a man, the picture at the door of St. Roch's ſcuola repreſented; that is, a great head-piece, under features nothing beyond common and a homely kind of appearance.

during

during our ſtay all Venice was full. After the rupture between the republic and Benedict XIV. which made ſo much noiſe, his irritated holineſs did not confer the hat on any Venetian: this, and the exaltation of his ſucceſſor, gave room for the following jeſt, ſaid to come from a gondolier: we have been a long time without a hat, *mà habbiamo adeſſo il capelliere (a).*

The cauſes of this rupture were the ſame as thoſe of the famous conteſt which Paul V. had carried ſo far; and between the effects there was no farther difference than what aroſe from the difference of times. By an edict, or decree, of the 7th of September 1734, poſted up at Venice, proclaimed throughout all the republic's dominions, together with the reaſons of it, and finally notified to the patriarch, the ſtate forbad all application to Rome for obtaining any kind of diſpenſation which their ordinary could give, enjoining the ordinaries to grant ſuch diſpenſations without any charge to the party; the whole, ſaid the ſame decree, agreeable to the diſcipline ſettled by the council of Trent, and without expectation of any diſpenſations from the received eccleſiaſtical laws, of which, in his dominions, every chriſtian prince is guardian and conſervator.

This decree had kindled in the court of Rome an indignation which faſtened even on Benedict XIV. himſelf, amidſt all his averſion to buſineſs, and eſpecially buſineſs of ſuch a ſerious nature. He engaged in this with the greater heat, as it was doing violence to his natural diſpoſition;

(a) But now we have the hatter.

but

but he hoped this way to make the ſhorter work of it. Mr. Cappello being at that time the republic's ambaſſador at Rome, the weight of this negociation, and of the pope's reſentment, fell on him. At firſt he bore up manfully, but either liſtening to propoſals, or himſelf venturing to make ſome beyond his inſtructions, he was recalled and baniſhed, together with his family, and no ſucceſſor was nominated. Rome, at firſt, only held congregations on the means of bringing the republic to repeal its decree; but all amicable ways having been employed to no purpoſe, it proceeded to thoſe expedients in which formerly conſiſted its whole force. France had promiſed the pope all aſſiſtance within its power, for terminating this affair to the honour of the Holy See; but on the intimation of declaring war againſt the republic, the anſwer was, that nothing farther than good offices had been promiſed; and accordingly the ambaſſador, or his ſecretary, did make very ſtrong remonſtrances in the king's name; but to which the ſenate objected, both the liberties of the Gallican church, and the warmth and firmneſs of the kings of France in aſſerting thoſe liberties. The ſenate growing more ſtiff inſtead of complying, Benedict XIV. reduced to act as a prince, broke all the commercial treaties between the republic and the apoſtolic chamber, gave orders for repairing his ſtrong places on the Adriatic, ſettled funds for enlarging and improving his ports on that ſea, augmented the privileges of thoſe forts, laid heavy duties on all goods coming from the republic's dominions; and, as

pope,

pope, never did prefer one Venetian to the purple.

In this critical condition were things at his demiſe: the decree ſubſiſted and was ſtrictly executed at Venice, when, on the 6th of July 1758, Cardinal Rezzonico, a Venetian and biſhop of Padua, was elected ſucceſſor to Benedict XIV. The new pope immediately notified his exaltation to the ſenate, and in his letter, which was intirely written with his own hand, he expreſſed a very ſtrong deſire of an accommodation, adding that his election was unqueſtionably among the views of providence, for bringing about ſo happy an event. This letter and ſome concomitant circumſtances affected mens minds, and when the affair came on before the council, the debates were very warm. M. Tron, chief of the party which oppoſed the repeal of the decree, made a very long and nervous ſpeech from the roſtrum: at length it was reſolved, that the decree ſhould be ſuſpended for four months, and thoſe to be employed in ſecuring and ſtrengthening the rights of the ſtate. This deliberation, which had kept the great council ſitting no leſs then ten hours, being re-aſſumed the 5th of Auguſt, the repeal of the decree, after freſh debates, paſſed under the term of *ſuſpenſio prolungata*. Of this the ſenate acquainted the pope in a letter, withal obſerving that in his he had, as pope, acknowledged the republic's legiſlative authority in the objects of the decree, having requeſted it to repeal the ſaid decree. By this turn Venice gloried in having maintained its ground ſo long, and at the ſame time complimented the pope in its ſeaſonable condeſcenſion, without prejudice to its rights.

All

All Rome, however, were not of that mind: many blamed the pope, as having been impoſed on by a predilection for his country; and the ſickneſs, which came on him ſoon after this accommodation, was conſtrued to be the conſequence and effect of ſome vexatious reflections, which had come too late; it was the general complaint that the whole advantage of the agreement lay on the Venetian ſide. Being at Venice during the laſt criſis of this great affair, we perceived that, after all the boaſts of the ſecrets of the ſtate being confined within the ſenate and the prigadi, the beſt part of them tranſpires. At the end of this work will be found the principal pieces relating to this remarkable tranſaction.

The reſpective pretenſions of the popes and Venetians, and the conteſts ſpringing from their contrariety, give the good Romans a diſfavourable idea of the republic's religion, looking on her, if not an enemy to the popes, at leaſt as one of their moſt diſobedient and refractory daughters: *come ſta il Papa Marco*, how fares pope Mark, is a queſtion aſked every Venetian who comes to Rome: in a word, the Romans account Venice to be ſtill influenced by the ſpirit of the famous *fra Paolo Sarpi*, to whom the republic, though ſo much indebted to him, has not yet dared to erect a monument. The firſt time of my going to the Servites, I aſked to ſee his monument: it muſt be a very fine one, ſaid I to the Servite who was with me. To ſuch a man, anſwered he, all or nothing, and the latter has been the thing. He afterwards ſhewed me the place where that celebrated

brated perſon had been interred, which was in the chancel on the left ſide of the altar, but without an epitaph, or ſo much as a diſtinguiſhing mark. Another time going by the ſame church, I went in, and found all the young perſons of the community playing alternately on the organ. On my calling out to them *viva* and *bravo*, the prime hand ſat down to the keys, and entertained me with five or ſix pieces of different ſolo's, all extremely well choſen and as well executed. Afterwards perceiving a ladder, ſet up to hang tapeſtries, near the place where *Fra Paolo* has in ſome meaſure conſecrated the ſtilletto with which he was aſſaſſinated, and which he called *Stilum Rom. Curiæ*, I moved the ladder and got up to the weapon, which hangs at the feet of a large crucifix over one of the chapels on the right hand; as I was handling it, the young folks who were ſtill at their muſic hollowed out, *Signor queſto non è roba da Franceſe*; that's no French goods.

I was told at Venice that the originals of thoſe writings, which ſo juſtly gained Fra Paolo his eminent reputation, and particularly that of his hiſtory of the council of Trent, are ſtill in being, and preſerved with great care in the Venieri family.

In our way from Venice to Rome, all the religious, whoſe churches and houſes we viſited, aſked us with the greateſt eagerneſs about the affair between Venice and Rome; How, ſaid I to them, have you not heard the great news? This great news was, that at the deſire of the republic, the pope, to confirm the reconciliation, was going to have Fra. Paroli Sarpi beatified; once

once this news ſat a little diminutive creature of a Servite a weeping moſt heartily for joy; and it took ſo well as to reach Rome before us.

In eſtimating the religion of Venice, by other reaſons than thoſe on which the Romans found their opinion of it, who can think amiſs of a city with ſo many churches ſo richly adorned, ſo many pariſhes ſo well ſupplied with clergymen, ſuch ſwarms of monks of all colours, and ſuch a prodigious number of hoſpitals for all the neceſſities of human nature? As to the mind and heart of theſe, God alone is the competent judge; and in his ſight, the love of one's country, as one of the firſt duties he enjoins, is unqueſtionably of ſome account. The clergy, indeed, has no part nor influence, ſo much as indirect, in any branch of the government; but this was bringing them back to their original inſtitution. The pariſh prieſts are choſen by the pariſhoners; another primitive rule: as to religious houſes, none but Venetians are admitted into them, and the jeſuits are treated only as on a footing with all the regular clergy. They had ſet up to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the other orders, by forbearing to attend at general proceſſions, pretending that being both clerks and regulars, they could not walk either with the ſecular clergy, who looked on them as regulars, nor with the regulars, who accounted them but clerks of a late date, and would not allow them any rank. The republic, to put an end to this diſtinction, ſent the jeſuits this laconic meſſage, *O andeve, O andeve*; either go, or begone; and by compromiſe, they have taken place between the

two

two fraternities inſtituted for aſſiſting criminals under ſentence of death; yet that they may not be without ſome diſtinction in ſolemnities, they walk three a-breaſt.

The offices and religious ceremonies, which the Italians comprehend under the generical name of *funzioni*, are as common and as pompous at Venice as all over Italy, and conducted with the ſtricteſt decency. Concerning this, I was told that at the expoſition of the hoſt in St. *Mark*'s church, and at which the ſenate aſſiſted, whilſt the whole aſſembly were kneeling, an Engliſh gentleman remained ſtanding. A ſenator ſent to him to kneel, and his meſſage not meeting with immediate compliance, he went himſelf; Sir, ſaid the Engliſhman, I don't hold with tranſubſtantion, *Ne anche io*, warmly replied the ſenator, *pero ginocchione, o fuor di chieſa**.

Jews, Greeks, Armenians, even the very proteſtants *(a)* enjoy at Venice, the toleration which the pope himſelf grants to the Jews in all his dominions. Theſe three ſects have each their places of worſhip. The only point in which the Jews are reſtrained is burial, which is not allowed them within the compaſs of Venice and the adjacent iſlands, ſo that they are obliged to carry their dead *al lido*, or the continent. One day, in our return from the Lido, where we ſometimes uſed to bathe, we met a Jewiſh funeral, conſiſting of

* Nor I neither, but down on your knees, or get out of the church.

(a) I have been told that proteſtants dying at Venice, are buried in the popiſh churches, without any inquiry into their belief.

about twenty perſons going in an open boat to interr one of their deceaſed brethren; poſſibly, this practice of the Jews may be owing to humour, or be founded on ſome points of the law or talmud; it is only the fact that I am certain of.

The Greeks have an archbiſhop, who beſides exerciſing all the epiſcopal functions, has even a ſeminary compoſed of young perſons, natives of Greece, or of the Archipelago iſlands. He happened to officiate the day that I went to their church, and it was my good fortune to take my ſeat next to a young papas, who was of very great uſe to me, in explaining the ceremonies of their worſhip. The intervals of my queſtions were taken up with a continual converſation; he informed me, that he was born on the antient confines of Epirus and Theſſalia, in the very place where reſided the famous oracle of Dodona, and that he had an elder brother, a captain in the royal Macedonian regiment, in the ſervice of the king of Naples: he offered me his recommendation to that brother, which I promiſed to accept of; and, to complete his civility, he urged me in the moſt obliging manner to come and ſee him at his houſe, to which he gave me a direction. In the mean time, I was not wanting to obſerve all the ceremonies of the office; every Greek, whether layman or eccleſiaſtic, on his entrance into the church, ſtopped in the middle of the choir, where ſlightly bending his body and looking to the door of the chancel, in which is the only altar belonging to this church, he made a ſign of the croſs,

croſs, beginning with his thumb on his head, then from the right to the left, and from thence, with a peculiar gracefulneſs, drawing it down to his knees, and theſe motions were repeated ſeveral times. Afterwards going up to the chancel, he kiſſed, with the greateſt marks of veneration, the pictures againſt the wall, which conceals from the choir and the people what is doing in the chancel. Theſe ceremonies being gone through, he withdrew backwards to his ſeat. The archbiſhop himſelf being come, at the head of his ſeminary, performed all the like ceremonies before putting on his pontificalia. Among the ſeminariſts who attended on him, my papas pointed out to me two young Athenians, whom, by their countenance, I ſhould really have taken for plump jovial natives of Limoges: during the whole ſervice the ſanctuary is cloſely ſhut, opening only at ſhort intervals for ſaying prayers over the people, which are accompanied with bendictions, and for taking in the elements which are to be conſecrated; the choir and all the people paying more veneration to thoſe elements than when conſecrated. The office is compoſed of pſalmody performed by the choir, and prayers, which are ſung by the officiating prieſt within the chancel: theſe prayers are of St. John Chriſoſtome, and have all the energy and loftineſs which that kind of compoſition admits of. Whilſt the choir is ſinging, ſome boys likewiſe within the ſanctuary ſtrain their voices in *Kyrie eleeſons* and *Amens*, not the leaſt correſponding with the public ſinging, which goes on amidſt all this bawling. The chancel's being ſhut during the whole ſervice ſurpriſed me the more, having heard ſome perſons in

France ſay, that it was quite otherwiſe in the primitive church, to the rites of which, according to the very ſame perſons, none had ſo faithfully adhered as the Greeks. However, the Greeks of Venice are among thoſe whom the Romans call ſchiſmatic's.

My papas having ſo obligingly preſſed me to come and ſee him at his houſe, I called there three or four times, but to no purpoſe; afterwards I caſually underſtood that he had a young wife, to whom he had given notice of my viſit; and ſhe had expreſſed ſuch curioſity and eagerneſs to ſee one, whom they thought a Frenchman, that the papas had judged it behoved him to deprive himſelf of the pleaſure of entertaining me.

The Armenian church, which is not ſo large as that of the Greeks, has two altars, one in the ſanctuary, which is as cloſely ſhut as that of the Greeks, and the other about the middle of the church for private maſſes. I was there one Sunday, and the ſervice laſted from ſeven in the morning till paſt noon. The whole was performed in the chancel; that is, perhaps for want of prieſts, there was no pſalmody nor prayers chanted in the choir. The ceremonies exhibited in the ſight of the people, intirely concentered in a ſpark of the age and make of the young Greek our coffee-houſe waiter: this minute he was in a common garb, then in a ſurplice, next in a dalmatic, and not leſs than twenty times did he thus ſhift his decorations; ſometimes he was lighting tapers and then quenching them, and ſometimes running about the church with a banner; the intervals of reſt he made uſe of

to

to put his fleas to the rout, or wipe off his ſnivel with his under lip. At times the archbiſhop was heard chanting the ſervice in the chancel, which now and then was opened, but as it were only to be ſhut again. This prelate was a little man but of a very ſmart and pleaſing aſpect; nothing can be richer than his pontifical veſtments; his mitre indeed was a kind of a black trencher cap, ſuch as is uſed in Swiſſerland. About the middle of the office a papas, in a chaſuble or cope, after the manner of the Latins, came and ſaid a low maſs at the ſecond altar; his air, his whole appearance, and the ſeveral attitudes during the ſervice, had all that dignity and gracefulneſs, which the painters term the high ſtyle; his beard being very long and white as ſnow itſelf, gave me to perceive that this was an ornament which the Doge ſtill wanted. All my company during this tedious office, was only a parcel of old women, who, like ſo many jeweſſes, for ruffles wore old ſheep ſkins with the wool outward, and their clacks were perpetually going either about family quarrels or concerns of the neighbourhood.

I was told that the Greeks and Armenians had only private inſtructions concerning religion; poſſibly, public may be uſed among them in other parts, as here the State requires nothing farther from them, than to be ſilent in the articles in which they differ from the Roman church: whereas the Roman catholics are crammed with inſtructions, if that name may be given either to the kind of homilies calculated for the people, or the premeditated ſermons, in which, for the

entertainment of the nobility and perſons of faſhion, the preacher diſplays all the pomp of the Ultra montane elocution.

As a ſample of the former, I ſhall only mention that, one evening, the throng of people, as it were, bore me into a church where a great feſtival was celebrating in honour of the Roſary. A Dominican friar of a reſpectable phyſiognomy preached, and in the accent, vehemence, geſtures, and prolixity of one of the St. Marks Square's relators, he entertained his audience with a heap of tales, which may be judged of by the following. A highwayman, who never ſtuck at murthering any one that fell into his hands, was withal very punctual in not leting a day paſs without ſaying his roſary; but once a traveller, whom he attacked, ſtanding on his defence killed him; he died without confeſſion, and his body, which the ſoul would not quit, his companions buried at the foot of an oak. Some months after St. Dominic appeared on this ſpot, and called on the robber by his name. The deceaſed immediately removed the earth which covered him, came out of the grave, and fell down at St. Dominic's feet; the ſaint confeſſed him, and, having abſolved him, took his ſoul with him to paradiſe. It gave me a ſenſible concern that a prieſt, a religious of an order of learned men, and a divine by profeſſion, ſhould thus copy public montebanks; indeed, in the courſe of my travels, I have met with many more ſuch ſubjects of concern.

As a ſpecimen of the premeditated ſermons, I have inſerted one at the end of the ſecond volume, from the printed copy with which lawyer Goldoni favoured

favoured me: this ſermon, which was preached by the famous father Macedo, on whom the laſt edition of Morery beſtows a very particular article, is a ſad inſtance of the exceſſes proceeding from an abuſe of genius; and to what a degree it prevailed among the Italians, when weary of the maſter-pieces, and diſguſted with the noble ſimplicity of the *cinque cento*, which to them was what the age of Lewis XIV. has been to France, nothing would go down with them but wit, and the capital beauty of compoſition was a gaudy quaint ſtyle, and every ſentence an epigram. This ſermon, being preached in 1674 or 1675, is contemporary with the noble productions of Boſſuet, Flechier, and Bourdaloue. Foreigners, however converſant with the Italian, need not be aſhamed if they can make little or nothing of this ſingular piece, the greater part of it being a riddle to Goldoni himſelf. At Venice, and over all Italy, the preachers have for ſome time been endeavouring to return into fair nature's path; but how far are they yet from their ſcope! The French pulpit-mongers, whom they take for their models, will never forward them in ſuch good intentions, by their jejune diviſions and ſubdiviſions of which they ſpin out their diſcourſes. French elocution is like thoſe Athenian girls, who, according to Menander, as copied by Terence,

Matres eſſe ſtudent
Demiſſis humeris, vincto pectore, ut graciles ſient.
Si qua habitior paulo, pugilem eſſe aïunt, deducunt cibum:
Tametſi bona eſt natura, reddunt curaturâ junceas.

On holidays and Sundays, it is only ſome good ſouls, whoſe intire confidence is placed in the prieſt, who attend the morning parochial ſervice; the Scuole and the Monks ſhare the remainder of the people, among whom every family owns no other pariſh than the church to which the confeſſor of its head belongs. The *oratorio* performed by the *conſervatories*, every body makes the afternoon ſervice. In theſe *conſervatories*, of which ſome aged ſenators take on themſelves the management, female orphans or foundlings are maintained, brought up under the beſt maſters, and portioned; each of theſe foundations being very plentifully endowed. The tendency of the education, however, ſeems rather to make Laiſes and Aſpaſias, then nuns or mothers of families, and the capital part of it is muſic. Theſe conſervatories have alternately veſpers in muſic, very finely performed, and concluding with a grand motet, which is ſold by women who let chairs to ſit on; the words are nothing but a moſt wretched uncouth jumble of Latin phraſes in rhyme, and ſtuffed rather with barbariſms and ſoleciſms, than any thing of ſenſe and propriety; indeed the author is generally the ſexton. On this paltry ground, however, is wrought the moſt delicate muſic, of which both the vocal and inſtrumental parts are performed only by the girls of the houſe (whom you ſee through the grate, which is hung with a very ſlight crape) fluttering about and throwing themſelves into all the attitudes required in the execution of the moſt ſpirited muſic. The whole is generally in the Italian manner, that is, with-

out beating time. One of these motets, at which we were present, in a great measure miscarried, Scarlati beating time in the Neopolitan way; that lifting up his hand where, in all the other parts of Italy, the stroke is used.

The festivals of the patrons of convents, of which the number is so great at Venice, are celebrated by solemn offices in music, which are generally composed for a particular festival. On St. Laurence's day, we attended one of these offices in the church of the nuns, whose monastery bears the name of that saint. The orchestra, which was directed by the famous Sassone, who had likewise composed the music, consisted of four hundred voices and instruments chosen from among the virtuoso's of Italy, who flocked to Venice for this festival; this orchestra was at the back of the great door facing the altar, and took up the whole breadth of the church, though exceeding its length; it was raised about twelve feet from the floor, and divided into symetrical compartments very elegantly decorated, as were the pillars, with ribbons, garlands, festoons, and linen folded into various figures. In the church were placed several rows of chairs, but with the backs to the altar; and in this odd position did they remain even during the high mass, which lasted five long hours, and as hot as it was possible to be even at Venice in the month of August. The nuns, who were all ladies of quality, did nothing but go and come to two large grates on each side of the altar, talking and presenting refreshments to gentlemen and abbes, who, all fan in hand, stood about both grates. The officiating

ciating prieſt and his aſſiſtants, who ſeldom or never ſtood up, and had only the backs of the congregation to look at, being in a bath of ſweat, were continually wiping themſelves, and ſeemed impatiently to long for dinner. The muſic and buſtle had begun ſo early as the firſt veſpers, which is not the leaſt entertaining part of thoſe feſtivals. On Aſſumption day we had a like exhibition in another monaſtery, and ſtill more grand, the church being much larger; here the muſic was divided into two choirs, which in certain pieces joined: and all this muſic, with all the variety and complexneſs of its parts, is performed without beating time. All the compoſer has to do is, like a general of an army, to animate the combatants with his voice and geſtures.

As to the beforementioned *Scuole*, they are aſſociations or brotherhoods of laymen, meeting in particular chapels to perform the canonical ſervice among themſelves under *guardians* and *priors*, who are alſo laymen. Theſe brotherhoods have very conſiderable funds, from which the commonwealth now and then make ſome draughts, or aſſigns them as ſureties for loans. Moſt of theſe chapels are like great halls, embelliſhed with performances of Paul Veroneſe, Titian, Palma, Tintoret, *&c.* Some Venetian hiſtorians date the eſtabliſhment of theſe Scuole ſo far back as the 12th century. The State has been wanting in no precaution both to ſecure the freedom of theſe aſſemblies, and to prevent all the abuſes which the republic might apprehend from them. *Ne quid detrimenti Reſpublica capiat.*

With

With equal attention does the ſtate watch over the preſs. The cenſure of writings, even theological, belongs to the particular commiſſion of the *Riformatori dello ſtudio di Padoa:* anſwering to that *della Beſthemia*; which, if I am not miſtaken, is the very council of Ten, in which, by that title, the ſtate inquiſition is united with the moſt important branch of the eccleſiaſtical. From this commiſſion the preſs meets with all the indulgencies requiſite to that kind of commerce. Every day it ſends forth with approbation and permiſſion tranſlations of French works, which, even at Paris, durſt not appear but under a tacit permiſſion. Many Italian works, which ſpeak very home both in argument and fact, are printed and ſold with the government's connivance. Among theſe works I ſhall only name thoſe of Muratori. His treatiſe on the *beſt devotion*, that is, againſt the devotion moſt common in Italy; that of the *defects of the law*, a very keen animadverſion on the practice of courts of juſtice, and the negligence of princes in this article, *&c.* have been publiſhed by Paſquali with his name, as likewiſe the ſame author's diſſertations on the *Italian antiquities of the middle age*, in which this author has litterally followed the hiſtorian's capital law, *ne quid falſi audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.* The ſole precaution which Paſquali has made uſe of, with regard to the laſt work, was no more than making Milan the place of impreſſion: *In Milano, à ſpeſe di J. B. Paſquale.*

The ſame printer being, in 1730, about a very fine edition of Guiccardini, would have greatly

injured

injured it among foreigners, had he not added the two famous paſſages which are found printed at the end of *Thuanus reſtitutus*, and which Chomedey has inſerted in his old tranſlation of Guiccardini. The inquiſition at Rome had proſcribed theſe two paſſages by a ſolemn decree of the 7th of April 1603, and they are prohibited all over Italy, as ſuperlatively heretical. The method Paſquali took to get them through was this; ſome days before the diſtribution of the firſt copies, he waited on the inſpector of books, with a countenance full of concern. "I come, ſaid he, to "implore the whole authority *del Principe*, againſt "a perfidy totally unprecedented in our profeſ- "ſion; you are not ignorant of the very great "charges I have been at about my Guiccardini, "which, at length, is coming out. In order to "make it the more known, and haſten the ſale "of it, I had ſent ſome ſheets to the principal "bookſellers in Europe; and what does an here- "tical ſcoundrel, a villain, one Pierre Goſſe of "the Hague do, but on that ſpecimen he prints "the *duoi Luoghi*, which you know! He has ſent "me ſome copies of them, and will certainly "ſpread them among all thoſe who buy my edi- "tions. *Caro Gian Battiſta*, replied the magiſtrate "with an affected accent, I am ſenſible of the "concern it muſt give you, but the ill being now "paſt remedy, make yourſelf eaſy; beſides, the "teſtimony of your conſcience may comfort you." On this buffoonry, which was equally well performed on both ſides, the *duoi Luoghi* have paſſed, and Paſquali has added them to his edition.

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The firſt, which relates to Alexander VI. or rather the duke de Valentinois his ſon, is only an additional anecdote to the many infamies of that execrable pope.

The other which lays before the reader the ſeveral ſteps by which the popes gradually roſe to their temporal aggrandiſement, is a maſterly piece, and the work of a pen well verſed in handling facts, in unfolding them, digeſting them, and placing them in their full light. I have not yet been thoroughly able to examine whether this piece be Guicciardini's or not. If it be an interpolation, as all the Italians will have it, it did not come from *Cælius Secundus Curio*, who tranſlated Guicciardini into Latin, and was a thorough proteſtant, nor from any proteſtant of the 16th century; they wanted both that profound acquaintance with hiſtory, and the conſiſtent impartiality ſo eminent in this detached piece. Now Fra Paolo was equally poſſeſſed of both, and, in my opinion, it may be attributed to him, without wronging his reputation or the fragment itſelf. It lay very much in his way, by means of his connections and correſpondencies, to throw out this bone for the court of Rome to pick, without any ſuſpicion of its coming from him.

Thus tractable and eaſy is the Venetian ſtate inquiſition, of which books give us ſuch frightful accounts. It is neither more watchful nor more cruel than the police at Paris, the founder of which was a perſon to whom his family's connections with Venice were of no ſmall uſe towards this important inſtitution; and the famous

Canal Orfano here, into which people are thrown, ſown in up a bag, has a pretty near affinity with the *Oubliettes*, where, according to the common opinion of the Pariſians, thoſe who fall under the government's ſuſpicion are made away with.' At the ſight of the lion's mouths, always gaping to receive the *denuncie ſecrete* *, I only wondered at the patience of the *Sages*, who, by office, are obliged to ſwallow all the fooleries with which theſe mouths would be crammed, were not the Italians rather more circumſpect in their writings than they are in their words.

If this precaution can be blameable it is in hiſtorians, whoſe writings are no farther the light of truth and the ſchool of morality, than as they equally diſplay and point out virtues and vices, ſucceſſes and miſcarriages, with their cauſes, both proximate and remote. Now this is the fault of the hiſtory of Venice, which has hitherto been no where written but under the eye of the republic, and indeed only as the republic would have it. This precaution, however, was baffled by the Squittinio della Liberta Veneta, a ſhaft which the court of Rome diſcharged at it. Venice was touched to the quick, and its wound required the moſt violent topic; this Fra Paolo applied by publiſhing his hiſtory of the council of Trent. Having myſelf occaſion to probe her in a leſs tickliſh part, I found a ſenſibility which I little expected. The caſe was this.

Before my leaving Paris I caſually alighted on an hiſtorical and critical diſcuſſion of the mar-

* Underhand informations.

quis

quis de Bedemar's famous conſpiracy againſt Venice in 1618, which the Abbe St. Real has ſo well deſcribed. The author of this diſcuſſion, who is a native of Champagne, having, from authorities, and moſt of them contemporary, proſcribed the conſpiracy as no more than one of thoſe machines, which policy has in all ages played off, in his laſt examen fathers it on the Venetians, as a ſtratagem to ſend away the marquis of Bedemar, and at the ſame time rid themſelves of certain ſuſpected perſons. Some very knowing in ſuch affairs, after refuting this ſyſtem, came into it and backed it by freſh authorities, which went ſo far as to throw on the whole of it a colouring of villany, from which the well meaning Champenois had cleared it *.

Both theſe pieces I had with me, and, in order to get a thorough information of the fact, I ſpoke of it the very firſt time to the Avogador, to whom I had recommendations. He aſked me with ſome uneaſineſs, whether that piece had any run in France? How it had been taken there? Whether I knew the author who had meddled with that topic? Whether he did not owe the republic, or ſome other Venetian, a grudge? However, added he, I have ſeen, peruſed, and weighed both the pieces; I may ſay that no body is in the way to give you the informations you deſire better than myſelf; the very keeping of the ſtate records is partly a branch of my office; I will get you the ſenate's leave to conſult them, and then you may by your own eyes convince yourſelf, even as I did, that the abbe St. Real has written no-

* Trevoux journal, Auguſt 1756.

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thing but truth concerning our conſpiracy in 1618. Some of the Avogador's acquaintance, of themſelves, ſpoke to me in the ſame manner, complimenting me beforehand on the ineſtimable knowledge I ſhould accumulate in the *Archivio*. The Avogador, to humour my eager curioſity, made ſeveral repeated appointments without keeping any. On my meeting him at any time, he would make a thouſand excuſes and promiſes, and, during the whole month I ſtaid at Venice, this was all I could get from him. On the day before my departure, a friend of his aſking me how I went on in the Archivio, I plainly told him the caſe; *Va fourbao ſto ſor Angelo*, ſaid he with a laugh, and ſqueezing my hand.

I have ſince met with in the cloſet of a French miniſter of ſtate, who had few equals for knowledge, penetration, and judgment, ſome part of the informations relating to this object of my curoſity, which I had been diſappointed of at Venice. In that cloſet did I ſee the very inſtructions which the marquis de Bedemar left for his ſucceſſor in the embaſſy to Venice. He dwells much on the conſpiracy of 1618, and looking on it in the ſame light as the author of the diſcurſion, he combats it with all the improbabilities which that author has mentioned. In a word, he ſees nothing farther in it than a contrivance, and ſuch a one as could impoſe only on the Venetian commonalty; and, as ſuch, the ſenate prudently took care to confine it within the Lagunas.

This inſtruction is likewiſe a full confirmation of the idea given by hiſtorians of the marquis de Bedemar's abilities. Let this paſſage ſerve for a ſpecimen:

a ſpecimen: he recommends to his ſucceſſor at Venice, above all things to ſtudy the intellects, genius, morals, inclinations, taſtes, connections, views of fortune or ambition, and this not only of the heads of the nobility and the councils, but of every individual ſenator; as on their votes depend the Pregadi's deliberations. Of ſuch advantages, ſays he, was this ſtudy, that by only knowing the object of the deliberations, I was at little loſs about what turn they would take. Having information of the object, I uſed to withdraw to my cloſet, and there deducing the vote of every ſenator or noble from his temper, his perſon, his views and connections, *&c.* I uſed to determine what would be the upſhot; and this, added he, was the very decree of the ſenate or the great council, ſo that I never was out but two or three times.

Whether M. de Monteſquieu was carried to Venice by ſome ſuch curioſity as mine, or confined himſelf to obſervations for his book on the *Spirit of Laws*, I know not; but it is certain he had been very inquiſitive, and written a great deal about Venice; ſo that his papers, of which he made no ſecret, had alarmed the ſtate. Of this, before he went away, ſome intimation was given him, and even with this notice, that it would be well for him if he was not ſeized in his going from Venice to Fuſcina. Full of this advice, and the *Orfano Canal*, he ſet out, when near mid-way he ſaw making towards him other gondolas, which, when they were come up with him, inſtead of rowing on kept hovering about his gondola. This

threw the poor gentleman into ſuch a fright, that, like the beaver when cloſely preſſed by hunters, he drew out of his travelling bag all his papers relating to Venice, and threw them into the ſea. I have been aſſured that nothing farther was intended then to try him, and that, had he waited their boarding him, he would have paſſed free, no order having been given for any ſuch moleſtation.

The archives, of which I could not procure a ſight, were buſily turned over during our ſtay at Venice, concerning what it became the republic to do, with regard to the obſequies of the pope's mother. This being an event without a precedent, it was reſolved that the republic ſhould not concern itſelf about it. No conſequences which might affect future times were to be apprehended here; but theſe wary republicans act only as authorized by examples, even in matters of no conſequence, ſo that the pope's mother was interred, as if her ſon had been only biſhop of Padua. She was paſt eighty: her joy at ſo very unexpected a turn of fortune, and at the compliments and congratulations from all parts on her ſon's exaltation, is ſaid to have haſtened her death. Her funeral was performed by the light of flambeaux, and with all the pomp which the ſumptuary laws would admit of. The proceſſion croſſed St. Mark's ſquare, where we had a ſight of it.

I now come to the ſeveral maſter-pieces of art with which Venice is embelliſhed. There are ſo many books on this head,

Notior ut non ſit canibus jam Delia noſtris.

But

But that which is moſt uſually put into the hands of foreigners, is a collection printed in 1664, with the title of *Minere della Pittura*; and the mention of it brings to my mind the daily wearineſs with which it uſed to overwhelm us. Let the deſcription of Paul Veroneſe's famous marriage of Cana, ſerve for a ſample of this performance. *Nel refettorio di S. Giorgio maggiore, ſi vede quel ſoſtanzioſo convito che in luogo di ſatollare il guſto di chi ſi trova preſente, ſempre piu gli accreſce l'appetito: coſa coſi rara, che anche chi la ſente nominare, ſi rende coſi vogliōſo di goderla, che non ſtimando di partirſi da paeſi piu lontani, corre a oſſequiarla: tal che di continuo vi ſi vedono Principi e gran intendenti a pronunciar maraviglie. Non fa dunque di biogno, né é licito, che una lucciola, per coſi dire, voglia arrogarſi di lumeggiare quel ſplendente Apollo che abbaglia con ſuoi ſplendori ogni altra lucidiſſima ſtella**. The whole work is in the ſame formal, ſtarched and pompous ſtyle.

Venice, ſo rich in paintings of its own ſchool, and ſo bare in pieces of modern ſculpture, has ſome antiques of the beſt times, and of the greateſt beauty.

* In the refectory of St. Georgio maggiore, is that ſumptuous banquet, which, ſo far from cloying the taſte of thoſe who are preſent, rather increaſes their appetite; a thing ſo very rare, that whoever hears of it becomes paſſionately deſirous of enjoying it: even princes and perſons of eminent genius eagerly reſort from diſtant countries to admire it and proclaim its wonders; ſo that it is not neceſſary, neither indeed is it fitting, that a glow-worm ſhould take on itſelf to illuſtrate the refulgent Apollo, whoſe radiances dazzle every other ſtar, how lucid ſo ever.

Such are, 1ſt the two lions of different bigneſs at the gate of the arſenal. Theſe lions came from Greece, and I have been told that the huge one is the very ſame which, in the proſperous times of Athens, ſtood at the point of the promontory *Sunium*, ſo famous in the hiſtory of that city; and on that account modern navigators had given it the name of Capo-leone or Cape lion. This lion, which is of the fineſt Paros marble, and ſquats on his poſteriors, with his fore-legs erect, may, for dulneſs and ſtiffneſs, be almoſt compared to thoſe old china lions, which are kept in ſome cloſets; *non eſt in toto corpore mica ſalis:* on comparing it with any little modern lion, we are amazed to ſee how far our artiſts are departed from the ancient ſimplicity, and how laviſh they are of genius, where the Greeks were ſo ſparing of it.

2d. Nero's horſes, which after being carried from Rome to Conſtantinople by the firſt Chriſtian emperor, were in 1208, brought from Conſtantinople to Venice. Theſe horſes, which are in exceeding good preſervation, and now hoiſted up over the front of St. Mark's cathedral, appeared to me of larger proportions, and of finer ſhape, than that of Marcus Aurelius in the capitol. Some remains are ſtill ſeen of the gilding, which Conſtantine's magnificence and bad taſte beſtowed on them. Was it diſdain or averſion to horſes, that the Venetians, who are reckoned but indifferent horſemen, did not pitch on a better place for theſe valuable pieces? Let us rather ſuppoſe their deſire was to ſhelter them from foreign incurſions and inteſtine revolutions: but

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poſſeſſion, accompanied with ſo much apprehenſion, can ſcarce be called poſſeſſion. The four corners of St. Mark's ſquare, or fronting the church, over againſt thoſe maſts on which wave the republic's ſtandards, offered a natural poſition for them; beſides, theſe four horſes, with that of general Coglione's (*a*) ſtatue, are the only animals of this kind to be found in all Venice.

3. The collection of antiques, heaped together in the lobby of St. Mark's library. Theſe are all Greek pieces, picked up in the Morea and the Archipelago iſlands, when belonging to the Venetians. Among ſeveral exquiſite pieces, I took particular notice of a Leda carreſſed by the ſwan, which, under an attitude as ſimple as that of the lion at the arſenal, expreſſes in the moſt natural, true and vivid energy, that high luxurioufneſs, which was ſo long the ſoul of all Greece. This collection, now heaped together in a corner, would make a very noble gallery, each piece appearing to advantage by being ſeen every way. The Contareni family, who had collected theſe moſt valuable curioſities in the courſe of the 16th century, have dedicated them to their country and the

(*a*) This ſtatue was erected in 1498, as the only reward this general required for his ſervices. He was for having it in St. Mark's ſquare, fronting the church, and the republic had given its word accordingly; but by a quibble little becoming the ſenate, it has been placed in a corner of the city, in a place indeed from whence general Coglione, whoſe arms are cut on the pedeſtal in ſpeaking pieces, is looking towards the cupolas of St. Mark, which may be ſeen from thence. The ſenate has lately erected a monument to the memory of M. Schulemburg its laſt general, if it may be called a monument, being no more than an inſcription, in the firſt court of the arſenal.

public, which however has but a very indifferent enjoyment of them, in ſuch an improper ſituation. This family, the ſecond in Venice for antiquity, and for arms and literature the moſt illuſtrious of any, is extremely fallen from its former ſplender; at leaſt to judge of it by the condition of a nobleman of this name, which I am told is very far from being equal to his rank, and whoſe whole appearance indeed ſhewed an object of pity.

4. A complete ſet of excellent copies of the *Muſeum Capitolinum*, and of the beſt antiques in Rome. I have mentioned, in the article of Bologna, the great expence the abbe count Farſetti was at in making this collection, and of the conditions on which Benedict XIV. permitted him to cauſe the muſeum of the capitol to be moulded.

Beſides theſe antiques of the beſt times, Venice has others of the lower empire or the middle age. The treaſury of St. Mark, ſo famous for its riches in this kind, conſiſts of the ſhare which fell to the Venetians in pillaging the palace of the emperors of Conſtantinople, when this city was taken and ſacked in 1205, by their forces, in conjunction with thoſe of the French. What the latter ſhared is now diſperſed among ſeveral churches in France. The cathedral of Troyes in Champagne, the collegiate church of the ſame city, the abbey de Clair-Vaux, &c. are poſſeſſed of ſeveral exceeding valuable pieces, all from the ſame ſource, and given them either by the counts of Champagne, who, having contributed largely to this expedition, came in for a good ſhare of the booty; or by the biſhop of Troyes, who, as chaplain

lain general to the French army, had been his own carver.

The ſame church of St. Mark is all incruſtated with moſaics, and the far greater part of theſe in a gold ground. The very floor, the moſaic of which indeed does not equal the former, is divided into compartments, ſaid to be formed from the deſigns of the abbe Joachim, a noted viſionary in the 11th century: one of theſe compartments repreſents two cocks dragging a long fox, which the hiſtorians and the people of Venice will have to be a prophetic emblem of the victories of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. kings of France, over duke Lodowic, who had ſeized on the duchy of Milan, and kept poſſeſſion rather by cunning than courage. In another are ſome very fat lions ſwimming in the water, over againſt ſome very lean lions feeding on terra-firma, an emblematic and political leſſon; the Venetians have more than once had cauſe to repent, that they did not always regulate their views and projects by it. If abbe Joachim had the gift of prophecy, he was a wretched draughtſman, for never was any thing ſo rough drawn as all theſe figures.

Every body knows the lion to be the ſymbol of Venice, having been that of St. Mark, who became the patron of this republic in the 9th century, when the body of that evangeliſt was tranſlated from Alexandria to Venice. The winged lion with a book in its paws is at length come to repreſent St. Mark himſelf in the eyes of the Venetians, and accordingly it is cuſtomary with them to decorate the head of that

creature with an aureola. Beſides St. Mark, Venice glories in being poſſeſſed of St. Stephen the proto-martyr, St. Athanaſius, and even ſome Old Teſtament ſaints.

The Venetian antiquities of the middle age bring to my mind two large paintings by Vicentino, among thoſe in the Pregadi's council-chamber. In one of theſe paintings, is Pepin king of Italy, Charlemain's ſon, beſieging Venice, and not able to take it but by famine; and the Venetians throwing to him a prodigious number of loaves, on which he raiſes the ſiege. The other piece repreſents Pepin attacked in his retreat: this brings on a ſea fight in which he has the worſt of it, and betakes himſelf to flight with ſome diſabled ſhips. Beſides the ſilence of contemporary hiſtorians about theſe facts, and ſome even relating them to Pepin's advantage, the fiction is manifeſt in the many contradictions among the particular hiſtorians of Venice. And the painters, to outdo the hiſtorians, have from their own fertile invention added the ſtratagem of throwing the loaves, ſo that, for the honour of Charlemain's houſe, and ſtill rather for that of truth, theſe events ſhould be thrown aſide among the chimeras with which every nation is fond of decorating its hiſtory. Of this ſtamp is the famous battle of Ronceveaux, where the cruel Spaniards make Charlemain to have been ſlain, with all the companions of his atchievements.

Accordad os, ſaid the firſt duke of Alva to his garriſon when beſieged in Pampelona by the French, *accordad os que en la Tierra que debaxo de vueſtros*

vueſtros pics hollays, el Re Carlo Magno fue vencido e deſbrattado, con muerte de ſos doze Pares (a).

* The halls and all the apartments of the doge's palace, together with ſeveral courts of juſtice, the ſcuole, the churches and chapels, are full of paintings, among which ſhine thoſe of Titian, old Palma, Paul Veroneſe, *&c.*

The Titians and old Palmas are ſo blackened by the ſmoke of the many lights in the churches, or faded by the moiſture of the Venice air, that they are now only *magni nominis umbra*, ſcarce any ſtrokes or lineaments of the general deſign or of the contour appearing. That was all that at high noon, in a very bright day, and with the moſt favourable light, I could make out in the Aſſumption, one of Titian's capital pieces, over the great altar of the church of the *Frati*, or conventual cordeliers. Of all that maſter's paintings here, the celebrated St. Peter's martyrdom alone affords a clear view of ſome of its parts.

The pieces, which are very many, of John Bellini, Titian's maſter, and head of the Venetian ſchool, have, as I may ſay, ſurvived thoſe precious ruins. Though with little of Titian's graces and ſtrength, they ſtill retain a freſhneſs *(b)*, which, by withſtanding the humidity of the air and the ſmoke of the lights, would incline one to ſuſpect that Titian had departed from his maſter no leſs in colouring than in deſign.

(a) Recollect that in the country which you now tread under your feet, king Charles the great was overcome and totally routed, leaving his twelve peers dead on the ſpot.

(b) And in their old ſtyle have ſtill freſh graces.

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It is in the former that Paul Veroneſe principally ſhines; all his performances have ſtill their original freſhneſs. This is ſufficiently evidenced by Darius's family in the Piſani palace; Zachariah in the ſacriſty, and the marriage of Cana in St. Giorgio's refectory *(a)*, beſides ſeveral cieling pieces in the ducal palace. This maſter, intent only in imitating the natural models with which Venice abounded, little concerned himſelf about that ideal beauty which the Greek artiſts had in view, and which Cicero, who had thoroughly ſtudied their performances, has ſo well defined. *Illi artifices*, ſays that orator, who was a ſtranger to no branch of beauty, *illi artifices, vel in ſimulacris, vel in picturis, cum facerent Jovis formam aut Minervæ, non contemplabantur aliquem a quo ſimilitudinem ducerent; ſed ipſorum in mente inſidebat ſpecies pulchritudinis eximia quædam, quam intuentes, in eaque defixi, ad illius ſimilitudinem artem & manum dirigebant.* Paul indeed had no occaſion to look beyond Venice, the Venetians being in his time, as they ſtill are, the handſomeſt and fineſt ſhaped people in Italy. Here he had in both ſexes the fineſt models for heads, arms, and hands. Theſe parts he merely copied, ſeeking no farther than what he had before his eyes, either for the attitude, character, or drapery of his figures, who all

(a) This houſe, which, with its church, was built by Palladio, has a library equally well choſen and ſituated: over its two doors are two very ingenious emblems on the diſpoſitions requiſite to ſtudy, and the benefit to be reaped from it. The figures of theſe emblems I own have ſlipped my memory

have

have the air of portraits, but ſignificant and living portraits: ſuch is the bride in the marriage of Cana; the moſt ſkilful painters have endeavoured to copy her, but none have been able to expreſs that bloom, that ſpirit, *queſta bella vita*, which animates every feature in her countenance. This incomparable figure was the work of love, the original being a very beautiful perſon, with whom Paul was at that time exceedingly enamoured. Tradition has preſerved another anecdote concerning a monk and a woman, ogling one another from two oppoſite balconies at the end of the inner building, which forms the ſcene of the nuptials. The tradition is, that Paul having ſome difference with the ſteward of the houſe, who was one of the religious, placed him there, leering at a woman whom he kept. The quarrel being enflamed by this pictorial ſarcaſm, may be ſaid to have had very bad conſequences, the artiſt hereupon breaking the engagements he had entered into to paint the refectory all over, together with the cieling.

If Paul Veroneſe in thoſe particulars be only a copier, yet was he an inimitable copier, and one of the greateſt painters in the general diſpoſition of his performances, and in the diſtribution of their parts: As likewiſe in ſome pieces, where the force and boldneſs of ideas are heightened by the accuracy and preciſion of the deſign. Such is the painting on the cieling in the chamber of the council of the ten, where the vices, as ſubject to the animadverſions of that tribunal, are ſtricken with thunderbolts and tumbled down into hell, each in its fall ſtill retaining its peculiar characteriſtic. Michael Angelo and the Carrachi have nothing

nothing above this, either for the plan or execution.

Tintoret, without taking his models either from nature or ideal beauty, had, from the turn of his own genius, acquired a manner full of loftineſs and terror, but often falling into the jejune; and ſtill he is Petronius's *precipitatus liber ſpiritus*. Public and private buildings, the very ſtreets themſelves at Venice ſwarm, as I may ſay, with his performances, of which the moſt excellent are thoſe in which he has moſt given himſelf up to the impetuoſity of his genius, as the Annunciation in St. Roach's ſchool already mentioned: all nature is ſhaken, the wall of the virgin's room falls to pieces, and the angel comes flying in. What greater imagery could be conceived to expreſs the *turbata eſt* in the ſcripture, and the inſtant of the greateſt of myſteries? So rapid a pencil, in the hands of ſo fertile a genius, was not made for the minute particulars of colouring; accordingly that of Tintoret is generally a kind of camayeu in black on a yellow ground. In his Univerſal Judgement, which takes up the whole front of the *Pregadi* hall above the throne, though a piece which, on account of its place, called for great regard in the execution of it, the ſeveral groupes of angels on clouds, might, at firſt ſight, be really taken for ſo many devils in caldrons. The only piece truly coloured, which I have ſeen of this maſter, is a very beautiful marriage of Cana in the ſacriſty of *La Salute*.

The republic is very jealous of thoſe productions of the great maſters of its ſchool, but this jealouſy goes no farther than to hinder the exportation

portation of them, without beſtowing a thought on their preſervation, which might be done with very little care: now, what can be more abſurd, or even ſpightful, than to hinder another from enjoying a good, which in our hands is periſhing? If the republic think it beneath her to concern herſelf about the means for preventing and putting a ſtop to the inſenſible decay of theſe maſterpieces, at leaſt ſhould ſhe hinder the formal deſtruction of them. Of this kind ſome affecting monuments are to be ſeen in the treaſury of St. Marcuola's church. I was ſhewn there three capital pieces of Titian, Tintoret, and old Palma, which have lain by, bundled up on the vaults of the church, till now they are rotted away to mere rags, *ſemeſaque fruſta.*

If juſtice be not adminiſtered at Venice, it is not for want of judges nor courts of juſtice. As each part of the government is diſtributed among ſeveral councils, ſo each part of the civil and criminal legiſlature, of the day and night police, *&c.* has ſeveral tribunals and different degrees of juriſdiction, over which preſide nobles alone, with lawyers as aſſeſſors. To give an idea of the number and multiplicity of the courts of juſtice at Venice, I need ſay no more than that it exceeds that of the juriſdictions and courts which conſtitute what at Paris is called *l'Etat de la Robe*, and the enumeration of which takes up the greater part of the *Court Almanack*. I ſhall not be thought to exaggerate, when it is known that the ſeveral points immediately cogniſable by the *Chatelet*, are, at Venice, divided between, 1ſt. The tribunal of *Property*, before whom are heard the diſputes both

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of claimants and poſſeſſors, relating to houſes within the city and adjacent iſlands. 2d. The tribunal of the *minor Procurators*, who try the like litigations relating to land and houſes on the continent, accounts of guardianſhips, and performance of contracts of marriage. 3d. That of *Foreigners*, which judges between Venetians and foreigners during their ſtay at Venice, and concerning leaſes to let. 4. That of *Demands*, before which are brought differences about promiſes or notes. 5. That of the *Mobili*, erected for determining the ſmalleſt concerns. 6. The *Cattaveri*, who take notice of pledges and things loſt or found. 7. The *Picveggi*, who judge of contracts, bargains, interreſt of money, and likewiſe ſee to the regular diſpoſition of the ſtreets. 8. That of the *Sopra-Gaſtaldi*, for ſeizures and ſales of goods, auctions, warrants, and to which application is made for the execution of the ſentences of other courts. 9. The *Examiners*, who cauſe inqueſts to be taken, and before whom are brought all diſputes concerning adjudications by decree, ſales, alienations, donations, wills, to all which they ſet their ſeal. 10. Laſtly, the *prefetti della Notte*, to whom appertain the taxation of coſts in other tribunals, and ſuits between maſters and ſervants.

I have been thus particular, both to juſtify what I have aſſerted concerning the multiplicity of the courts of juſtice in Venice, and that they who are verſed in theſe affairs may obſerve that political combination, thus diſtributing, intermingling, and limiting the competency and the powers of theſe ſeveral courts. The ſame policy has divided the cognizance of appeals among different tribunals,

tribunals, where anciently, as in the north of Europe, the defendant had for council the former judges, who were obliged to maintain in their own name the legality of their ſentences; but this ſalutary cuſtom is now univerſally laid aſide, which abrogation has on many obvious accounts contributed to lengthen and multiply law ſuits.

I once attended a cauſe at the tribunal of the *Examiners*, which is at the foot of the *Rialto*; the queſtion was about a will, which the teſtator's heirs diſputed: the council treated the matter ſummarily and with much preciſion and perſpecuity, yet in places ſuſceptible of it, with a ſufficient degree of warmth.

I likewiſe heard a cauſe of appeal at the court *della Quarentia civile*; the parties were the owners and the inſurers of a veſſel loſt within ſight of Alexandria. The pleadings were nothing but a continual commentary of the lawyers on ſome printed briefs, read by a kind of *relater* with a monotonous pronunciation, and his voice both hoarſe and ſhrill. Never did an Italian comedy divert me like the pleading of one of theſe gownſmen. The hall was not at all of a breadth ſuitable to its length; here he ſtood in an open niche, above an eſtrade, raiſed along the breadth of the hall, facing the bench; and at the ſame heighth on his right-hand was poſted his *relater:* at every phraſe, every line, almoſt every word, he opened, repeating the terms of the brief, recapitulating what had been ſaid already, expatiating on the fact or the manner ſet forth in the brief, and all with the fire, agitation and clamour of a demoniac. This frenzy ran through

through his whole action, sometimes striking the pillars on which his niche rested, sometimes making but one step down on the floor, then up to the bench, running his fingers into the very face of the president, then down again as fast, and returning backwards to his niche, where, whilst the *relater*, to whom he was crying out *Avanti*, proceeded to a new sentence, he was wiping himself and recovering strength for fresh emotions, which the second or third line of the new sentence never failed to bring on. The *relater* still proceeded, forming a kind of thorough bass to the lawyer's squaling, who, in the most decisive places, did not stick to fly at him, and stop his mouth with his hand! As we were then in the beginning of August, is easy to imagine what a sweat such convulsions must have thrown him into, especially being muffled up in an enormous wig, which before and behind reached in equal proportions down to the girdle. Indeed his cloaths were only a shirt and a sort of Venetian cassock, of both which he had gradually loosened the neck, so that his shirt was fluttering about quite open to the waist, and thus indeed he could rub himself down with the greater ease, and often did he use this liberty. This pleading, or rather this scene, consisted of two hearings which lasted five hours. The opposite council was not so full of agitation in his pleading, but gave it greater strength and dignity. I listened to him with some pleasure, though the *relater*, with his shocking pronunciation, terribly grated my ears. I could scarce make any thing of what he read, but I clearly understood every word which came from the lawyer. I

should

ſhould have been the leſs ſurpriſed if I had underſtood neither, the Venetian dialect alone being allowed of both in the courts of juſtice, the councils, and the *Pregadi*.

The counſellors, who muſt be free of Venice, are in equal conſideration here as at Paris. The bar, to thoſe who are not diſpoſed to ſtick to it, leads to ſuch offices and honours as the republic has reſerved to the ſecond claſs of citizens, and a certain ſource of wealth it is to thoſe, who, after making a figure there, devote their abilities to chamber practice. Several of the latter have large eſtates and fine ſeats, ſo that they are very nearly on a footing with the nobility, who accordingly treat them as their equals.

From the premiſes, the bar of Venice appears to abound as much in the great motions of the Greek and Roman eloquence, as our northern auditories are wanting in any ſuch. It is eſpecially in criminal affairs that theſe great motions are called on. It is in full court that the accuſer, who is always one of the *Avogadors*, makes his demand, declaring the facts and producing proofs. The defendant anſwers by council, but in caſe his low circumſtances will not bear that expence, his cauſe is pleaded by a barriſter of the ſociety, to which the republic allows a ſalary for this purpoſe. None of thoſe expedients, ſo common among the Greeks and Latins, are omitted in ſuch pleadings; arms, poniards, and all the inſtruments of the crime, with the children, the wife, or parents of the accuſed, are preſented to the judges by the accuſer, and the defender; in a word, theſe pleadings, and the whole

manner of proceeding in criminal cauſes, are the ſame at Venice as they were at Athens and Rome. If this manner of proceeding is become obſolete in our northern countries, it is certainly not ſo much from a deliberate choice, as becauſe the churchmen, who for a long time directed all tribunals, have introduced into them, eſpecially in criminal cauſes, the forms of the canon law, with which they are better acquainted; that is, ſuch forms as the popes had drawn up for the inquiſition.

Venice held the firſt rank among the trading cities, or rather among the trading nations of Europe; and her declenſion from ſo brilliant an honour is chiefly owing to two cauſes; the diſcovery of the Cape of Goodhope, and prohibiting the nobility from trading.

Before the diſcovery of the Cape of Goodhope, ſhe was the ſtaple both of Europe and Aſia, the broker for all the various ſorts of merchandize within the commerce of thoſe two parts of the world, and likewiſe the bank of that opulence by which it was carried on; in a word, with only the Piſans and Genoeſe for competitors, ſhe ſupplied all that Holland, England, and France do at preſent, allowing, however, for the increaſe produced by luxury.

This commerce made the greater figure, as it was carried on by the nobility and the firſt houſes of the ſtate, which being governed by the ſpirit of thoſe houſes, had in its wars, conqueſts and treaties, its principal eye on the proſperity of trade.

What

What a difference between such a spirit and that of the chief states of Europe at the very same time! Among them trade was left to the Jews and the Lombards, the sovereigns and every petty lord of our northern countries looking on it as no more than an expedient, which they daily made use of, by heavy impositions to enrich their treasury, and which they often drained by extraordinary burdens, whereof history furnishes too many instances. These losses, however, the Lombards and Jews made up by the enormous usuries, which sovereigns used to connive at, in hopes of coming in for a share. Hence the general contempt and detestation for trade, or those who followed it. Hence likewise the principles then laid down by the schoolmen concerning usury; principles *(a)* in which all the revolutions in the several branches of commerce have not yet made any change, and in nations, who, in other respects, are not wanting in perspicacity. How very different were the ideas of those dark ages from those which the author of the *noblesse commerçante* has placed in so strong a light! As the latter have gained ground in Europe they have declined at Venice, which now makes no less difference between a nobleman and a trader, than a native

(a) These principles never prevailed at Venice, trade having always been accounted a creditable profession; and money, its sinew, being accounted the chief of commodities, produces interest, or rather is sold or pledged as agreed on between the buyer and seller. Disputes relating to these dealings come before the tribunal of the *Pioveggi* which determines the interests, either *Ex scripto*, or *bona fide*, *pro Rata lucri cessantis & damni emergentis*.

of Paris ſees between a duke and peer of the kingdom, and a St. Denis's ſtreet tradeſman.

Towards the beginning of the 15th century, the plain old faſhioned ideas being ſuperſeded by the chimera of military glory, the ſyſtem of the republic underwent a great change; ſhe aſpired to conqueſts without any regard to commerce: that romantic notion alienated the nobility from trade, which had ever made their moſt ſolid greatneſs, and the republic was brought to the very brink of ruin.

She has indeed preſerved part of thoſe ambitious conqueſts, but it was by efforts which have quite exhauſted her: and can this reſtleſs policy, now the grand ſpring of her government, be ſaid to make up for thoſe plain principles, by which, in the times of its higheſt proſperity and reputation, the ſtate was governed like a compting-houſe and magazine?

Yet is it ſtill that ſame trade which upholds the noble houſes againſt the debaſement they imagine inherent in commerce; the greater part of their money is either in trade or the bank; and what is the conſequence? the good of the ſtate is ſacrificed to private intereſt, which from its caution to conceal itſelf, is the more aſſuming. As for inſtance, ſome partnerſhips of wealthy traders on the continent had ſet up at Verona and Padua, very conſiderable manufactories of thrown ſilk; the nobility, concerned in the manufactures carried on at Venice under their immediate inſpection, took umbrage at theſe new foundations, and, after ſome clandeſtine but fruitleſs endeavours to quaſh them, got double duties of importation in-

to

to Venice, and exportation out of the Venetian territories to be laid on all their goods, as under the denomination of foreign: hence these establishments, so promising and of such public benefit, amidst all their claims to the countenance of the state, have in its name been molested and cramped, and thus gradually brought to utter ruin.

Printing, originally set up at Venice by Nicholas Janſſon, a Frenchman, though not flouriſhing in that proſperity to which the abilities, induſtry, and diſintereſtedneſs of the Manutii, the Giunti, the Giolitos, the Bevilacquas, &c. raiſed it, ſtill makes one of the chief branches of the preſent trade of Venice. Several noble houſes place their money in this trade clandeſtinely, and with a view of lucre, diſtantly imitating the Societá Palatina, compoſed of the principal noblemen of Milan, who formed it and openly keep it up, for the good of literature and the improvement of the ſciences, motives which the higheſt nobility need not conceal.

John Baptiſta Paſquali's printing-houſe, one of the beſt, and which does as much buſineſs as any in Venice, is chiefly employed by Mr. Joſeph Smith, a rich Engliſh gentleman, who has been conſul here for that nation many years, during which he has made large collections of books, paintings, deſigns, antiques, &c. All Europe has heard of Sebaſtian Ricci and Carlo Signani's cartoons, which are in his poſſeſſion, and which he has publiſhed moſt exquiſitely engraven by M. Liotard, a Genevan, in his own houſe and under his daily inſpection. The public indeed would readily have diſpenſed with that long and jejune deſcription of thoſe pieces,

which takes up a whole quarto volume, without in the leaſt adding to the value or merit of the ſeveral pieces mentioned in it. With regard to theſe collections, this Mr. Smith may be matched with a French academician, of whom Mr. de Boſe in his panegyric ſays, "Contented with a "tranſitory property which ever gave him the "firſt, and conſequently the moſt lively pleaſures "of poſſeſſion, he became very expert in the art "of happily preventing diſguſts, and of multi-"plying his knowledge by the great number and "change of his acquiſitions."

By means of the ſumptuary laws, the manufactures of the Venetian territory anſwer its conſumption; and agreeably to the ſpirit of the government, they are rather ſolid than ſhowy: no country in Europe makes better velvets or ſilk ſtockings. Its looking-glaſſes and galloons, which formerly were vended all over Europe, now go only to the Levant. The reputation of itstreakle is at its ancient height, which it owes to the apparatus and form with which it is compoſed, and under the eye of the very ſignory itſelf. The trade in this treakle is one of the little emoluments in the Venetian ambaſſadors at the ſeveral courts of Europe. The wax, which Venice fetches from Dalmatia, Greece, and all the Levant, employs many manufactories, where, after being whitened, it is made into candles, the very fineſt of which fetch no more than about fifteen pence a pound. As to foreign commerce there is ſcarce any thing done in it, except in fine linen and callicoes from Swiſſerland, and cotton and dying drugs from the Levant, which it ſends to Swiſſerland.

Swifferland. This trade is chiefly in the hands of Swifs houfes fettled at Venice. There is not indeed a nation without fome conſiderable houſes here. The trade of theſe houſes begins with the country from whence they came; but in a little time declining, either for want of ſupport or the difficulty of intercourſe, they give into the Venetian ſchemes, and generally turn to banking.

One of theſe houſes, and which we oftenеſt viſited, was that of M. le Roi, who, after being French conſul at Conſtantinople during the greater part of his life, had come and ſettled with his family at Venice, where, by means of the acquaintance and connections ariſing from his conſulſhip, he carried on a trade to the Levant. He generally wears the Turkiſh dreſs, and retains a high eſteem for the manners, candour, and probity of that nation. He has a complete apartment in his houſe intirely furniſhed in the Turkiſh manner. We ſpent a very pleaſant afternoon in it with M. le Roi, his family and ſome ſtrangers, ſeated and ſerved Turk like, that is, ſitting croſs leg on cuſhions in a large eſtrade, where tea, coffee, chocolate, pipes, brandy, and pillau, were brought to us every half hour. This way of living, beſides being adapted to the Levant climate, is likewiſe promotive of thoſe muſings and reveries in which the Levantines ſo much delight; but, for our parts, very far were we from any ſuch melancholy penſiveneſs, the chief topic of our converſation was the Turks, whoſe attitude however little agreed with our hams.

Cardinal de Bernis left the French name in the higheſt conſideration at Venice; and to the

perſonal eſteem all Italy expreſſed for that miniſter, he owed the diſregard with which the preſent pope turned a deaf ear to the devices and machinations with which his enemies, whoſe activity was equal to their rancour, oppoſed his promotion to the purple. They not only rouzed againſt him the Romans, who, amidſt the moderation of their ſentiments concerning the broils among the French clergy, ſtill looked on the firmneſs of the parliaments with ultramontane eyes; in order to create him more fixed enemies, they ſpread abroad, as his own works, ſome collections, in which his juvenile compoſures were intermixed with the ribaldry of ſuch libertines as Rouſſeau, Grecourt, *&c.* To all theſe batteries the pope oppoſed his own knowledge as biſhop of Padua, with accounts from his family and friends, of the ambaſſador's behaviour, and of the great eſteem which the beſt judges in Venice entertained for his perſon, abilities, and prudent circumſpection.

PADUA.

From Venice the *pcotta*, or paſſage boat, carried us to Padua through the *Lagunas*. Five miles ſailing brings one through them to Lizza-Fucina, where we entered the Brenta. The *peotta* was crouded with Venetians, going to ruſticate a while in thoſe charming receſſes, where the nobility and rich citizens of Venice ſpend their ſummers. Theſe travellers were one and all dreſſed in a dark coloured camlet without

without neck or ruffles, and a ſilk handkerchief about their neck; not once did they open their mouths; they did not break ſilence ſo much as to inform us of the danger of oyſters brought by ſtate ſpies, diſguiſed like fiſhermen, who come from ſeveral parts to view the paſſengers under the cloak of ſelling oyſters. My fellow traveller being very fond of them bought a baſket full, offered ſome to the Venetians, who refuſed them with a ſilent ſhake of the head, eat plentifully of them himſelf, would needs have me eat ſome, and left the reſt for our ſervants; and how they agreed with us I ſhall preſently mention.

The country along the Brenta is an earthly paradiſe, at leaſt I know none where the land is more fertile, better cultivated, or more delightfully planted: every where are elegant ſeats in the midſt of large encloſures, and moſt of them built by Palladio or his pupils, and from deſigns and plans of which no two are alike; and of all the principal front faces the river.

I have ſomewhere read that the whole length of the ground which this river waters from Lizza-Fucina to Padua is an alluvion, and that Padua was originally by the ſea ſide. But this is certainly a mere conjecture, formed on the appearance of the ground and examination of the ſoil, but which is countenanced only by the authority of Strabo, and that very vague; all he ſays is, that Padua was built in the neighbourhood of the Lagunas. It is however a matter of fact, that the Venetians, to ſecure their Lagunas againſt the progreſs of the alluvions, have turned aſide the greater part of the

the Brenta waters on that part of the Lagunas, where the current being ſomething briſker than at the natural mouth of the river, prevents any great accumulation of ſediments *(a)*.

During this paſſage, I divided my attention between theſe delicious houſes, of which, as I may ſay, we took a curſory view, and a book printed at Venice in 1669, called Arcadia in Brenta, *overo la maninconia ſbandita*, no bad collection of witty ſayings, jeſts, tales, &c. ſuppoſed to have paſſed in ſuch a vehicle as ours, but among Venetians who were not ſuch ſtrict votaries to ſilence as thoſe in our company.

I could not perceive the Timavus in the Brenta ſo readily as Mr. Addiſon, nor its mouth *(b)*

Unde per ora novem vaſto cum murmure montis
It mare præruptum, & pelago premit arva ſonanti;

Though Virgil adds,

Hic tamen ille urbem Patavi, ſedeſque locavit
Teucrorum.

Leandro Alberti, ſtruck with the utter unlikeneſs of this pompous deſcription to the preſent condition of the Brenta, has transferred it to a river which ſtill bears the name of *Fonte-Timao.*

(a) The canal which diſcharges itſelf at Chiozza, was contrived and executed by the Romans, under the name of *Foſſa Claudia.* Vid. Plin. l. 3. c. 16.

(b) Concerning this, ſee in Burman's *Theſaurus*, vol. 4. a diſſertation by one Paul Pinſio, where you will not learn any *Gran Coſa.*

This

This ſtream, for it can ſcarce be called a river, which waters Friuli, does indeed iſſue through ſeveral mouths from the foot of the hills del Carſo; and after a courſe of only a quarter of a league enters the gulph of Trieſte: at leaſt, thus is it repreſented in a very particular map of Friuli in Moyſeſſo's hiſtory of the war, which the republic of Venice maintained in this country in the beginning of the laſt century.

If Virgil's deſcription ſhould ſtill appear too magnificent for ſuch a rivulet, I could not, in all the neighbourhood of Padua, ſee any river which it would ſuit better than the Po itſelf, with its ſeveral outlets; each of which indeed is a kind of ſea *(it mare præruptum)*. The *montis* would to be ſure be quite miſplaced, there being not the leaſt appearance of any mountain or hill near the mouth of the Po; ſo that, with the crowd of commentators, we muſt conceive that Virgil carries Antenor to the very bottom of the Adriatic gulf, where, being put to a ſtand, he landed in Croatia, *(Regna Liburnorum)* then following the coaſt, he ſcoured the gulph of Trieſte and reconnoitred the country, *(fontem ſuperare Timavi)* but diſapproving of ſuch mountainous and barren tract for the ſettlement he had in view, he came at laſt to the banks of the Brenta, and there took up his abode. Of this his tomb, which is ſhewn at Padua, would be a full proof, were not the Latin inſcription on it unluckily cut in characters. manifeſtly Gothic. The grammarians will have nothing farther on their hands, than to exculpate Virgil for the ſolemnity laviſhed on this deſcription, which Silius Italicus has imitated in that of the

the Rubicon before quoted in the mention of that river.

We reached Padua pretty early, and the only inconveniency we were put to in the paſſage was the ſhifting of our bark at Oriago, where the Brenta ceaſes to be longer navigable for the larger boats. A gang of ſcoundrels preſſed upon us to carry our baggage into the other bark, and on our anſwering that we would follow the example of the Venetians, who we ſaw had that buſineſs done by their ſervants, they furiouſly threatened ours to knock them down if they did but wag a finger towards it; afterwards they themſelves fell together by the ears which ſhould do the job; and the conquerors laying hold on our portmanteaus without coming to any bargain, we could not avoid paying the villains as much as if they had brought our baggage from Venice. Yet ſo far were thoſe miſcreants from being ſatisfied, that they poured forth all the foul names in which the Venetian idiom is very copious, and we had them on our backs all dinner time, which, however, we enjoyed in great compoſure, having determined to take no notice of all their execrations.

Our firſt night at Padua was a very diſmal one to my fellow traveller. He went to bed ſeemingly in perfect health, but about midnight awaked in a burning fever, and moſt execruciating pains in the ſtomach and inteſtines, and continual evacuations both ways. At firſt the ſignor magnifico *(a)*, declared that he was *avele-*

(a) The title of phyſicians in Italy.

nato,

nato, i. e. poiſoned. This brought to my mind the oyſters with which he had indulged himſelf; and the magnifico knowing theſe to be the cauſe of his diſorder, told me that at this time of the year all oyſters were very dangerous, and thoſe of the Lagunas had coſt many a one his life. It was noon before the evacuations and pains ſubſided. Fortunately I had taken but a very ſlender doſe of this poiſon, and accordingly I felt no manner of inconveniency except in the morning a ſickiſhneſs at my ſtomach, with ſome evacuations and ſlight gripings; our ſervants afterwards came in for their ſhare, as they had partaken of the regale. In a word, never had hoſpital more the appearance of one, than our apartment. But what to us appeared moſt ſtrange in this adventure was the compoſure, the ſtoical inſenſibility, or rather the inhumanity with which our fellow travellers had ſeen us eating theſe oyſters, knowing, at the ſame time, how very pernicious they were.

Padua for largeneſs may be compared to the ſecond rate cities in France. Its ſtreets, like thoſe of Bologna, are lined with two rows of piazzas, beſides ſeveral canals of a clear running water, excellently diſtributed for the convenience of the manufactures. Its ſituation is delightful both from the variegated fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, and the embelliſhments of art; yet is it ſo very badly peopled, that, deprived of its monaſteries, its prebends, the ſeminary, and what few ſcholars its univerſity ſtill draws thither, ſcarce a ſoul would be left there. *Mantua væ miſeræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.* The neighbourhood of Venice, the daughter of Padua, is extremely detrimental to it in many reſpects,

reſpects, *filia matrem verberat*, eſpecially ſince the decline of the trade of the Venetians has reduced them to live on the rents of their eſtates.

The firſt object which curioſity viſits is the church *Del Santo*, that is, St. Anthony of Padua, who lies here: on every ſide of his tomb are baſſo relievo's in white marble, and the ſculpture exquiſite. Cloſe behind this tomb has been made a little place from which, through a crevice, but now much widened by people's devotion, iſſues a very odorous exhalation. *Oche odor di Santo!* cried a good woman, whom we ſaw come out of that cell. On our taking her place we had indeed a very ſtrong odour, but it plainly was of freſh pounded incenſe. In the ſquare before the church ſtands a maſterly equeſtrian ſtatue, erected by the republic of Venice to its general Gattamelata, and modeled by the famous Donatello of Florence. Among the pompous epitaphs, of which this church is full, I obſerved that of Ottavio Ferrari, profeſſor of polite literature in the univerſity of Padua, and one of thoſe learned men whom Lewis XIV. honoured with a penſion. It is there ſaid of him, *Regum opes & munera æquans facundia, fide & conſilio, invidiam aut vicit, aut gloriæ incitamentum habuit.* Among thoſe epitaphs, we ſaw, on different altars, ſome paintings of a very bright colouring; as to the treaſury we took the ſacriſtan's word, who told us it was a treaſury indeed.

But we perſonally viſited father Martini Vallotti, maſter of the chapel to this houſe, and the beſt ſcholar among the Cordeliers, *quot ſunt aut aliis erunt in annis*; he is likewiſe a great muſician,

well

well verſed in compoſition, and intimate with the celebrated Tartini, with whoſe muſical ideas, taſte and views he perfectly harmonizes, and has undertaken a hiſtory of that charming art. The good father expreſſed much eſteem for Lully; and Rameau he admires. He ſhewed us the beginning of a grand ſcheme executing under his inſpection, and that of Tartini, by ſome Venetian noblemen their diſciples. This ſcheme is for all the Pſalms to be tranſlated into Italian verſe, as literally as conſiſtent with the ſpirit and elegance of poetry, and then ſet to a muſic plain as that of Lully, and in which harmony alone has been ſtudied. We ſaw the two firſt volumes, which, indeed, are extremely well engraved: this muſic is as little incumbered with notes as church ſinging.

Father Martini informed us that Tartini had read all the articles on muſic in the Encyclopedia furniſhed by M. Rouſſeau of Geneva, and the more carefully, as cenſuring many things in the muſical ſyſtem which he had publiſhed *(a)*; that he was very deſirous of entering into a correſpondence with M. Rouſſeau on the points in diſpute; but that he repreſſed his deſire, accounting it did not quite become him, as M. Rouſſeau's ſenior, to make the firſt overtures. This I, by a third hand, cauſed to be intimated to M. Rouſſeau; but whether my commiſſion has been executed, and what may have been the reſult, I hitherto know not.

The convent of St. Juſtina, where the reform of the Benedictine order in Europe had its begin-

(a) In a *Treatſe on Harmony*, printed in 1745.

ing,

ing, is one of the fineſt monaſteries in all Italy, and likewiſe one of the wealthieſt, if, as reported, it has two hundred thouſand livres yearly income. The church is Palladio's maſter-piece in this kind; like St. Peter's at Rome, it is much more ſpacious than at firſt it appears, and, if ſuch a thing may be ſaid, it ſurpaſſes the former in one point, being very lightſome, yet at coming in none of the windows are ſeen which communicate the light. It has twenty-four chapels of a moſt grand architecture, and not one alike: the martyrdom of St. Juſtina at the end of the choir is accounted one of Paul Veroneſe's beſt performances, but the effect of it is much diminiſhed by the height at which it ſtands. Beſides the *Glory*, or rather the perſons who crowd the upper part of it, the clouds on which theſe perſons reſt, and laſtly the angels ſcattered in the ſmall void left between the aërial vehicles and the principal action, throw a confuſion on the diſpoſition of this picture, quite foreign from Paul Veroneſe's taſte, who indeed may have ſacrificed his own to that of his employers.

This convent has no leſs than ſix courts, with portico's or colonades on every ſide, and of which the elegance and magnificence puts one in mind of Saint Charles Borromeo's edifices. The library is numerous and well choſen, ſplendidly placed, and under the management of a librarian, whoſe politeneſs is equal to his great erudition. He ſhewed me a complete collection of the moſt rare *Gioie* of what they call La Collana Italiana, i. e. the jewels of the Italian necklace. Theſe are the oldeſt and moſt ſcarce editions of their beſt authors in good condition, the bindings very compact

and

and elegant. This collection was originally formed at Paris by an Engliſh nobleman, who carried it over to London, from whence it was ſucceſſively removed to Amſterdam, Grand Cairo, Conſtantinople and Venice, where the abbot of St. Juſtina made a purchaſe of it. Here I ſaw all the fineſt editions of Aldus Manutius, a Bandel of 1554 complete, with the Aggiunta of 1573, the *Spaccio della Beſtia triomphante*, and the admirable Boccacio of 1527; adjoining to it was that which Rolli printed at London in 1725, an edition ſo very like that of 1527 in the paper, types, diſpoſition of the pages, and even the very faults, that they are to be diſtinguiſhed only by a very ſlight difference, in the Giunti's mark placed at the end, which in the former is horizontal, and in the latter perpendicular.

Here is ſhewn, with a kind of veneration, the room in which lodged the celebrated father Mabillon, when on his journey through Italy. As a mark of his regard for the reform, of which this convent was the nurſery, he propoſed to attend at all its excerciſes both day and night, and accordingly came to the very next mattins after his arrival. The religious chaunt them ſtanding in the middle of the choir, and father Mabillon made one among them, till ſeeing that at the ſecond pſalm they did not ſit down like the Benedictines in France, his fatigue after his journey obliged him to withdraw.

St. Juſtina's houſe is governed by a regular abbot, as are all the abbies of Italy except thoſe which are held in commendam by cardinals. Theſe commendams the monks look on with a very evil eye, and, in revenge, they give the following

definition of a cardinal: *animal rubrum, omnium beneficiorum capax, rapax, vorax:* the only one for whom they have any good will, is the cardinal des Lances, who, contented with one single abbey, lives like a regular abbot with his monks, and presides at all the exercises of the community. As to the commendams of ultramontane countries, these they look on as an utter subversion of the hierarchy, and of all ecclesiastical discipline, as an usurpation, and invasion of the treasures of the church. The mitre and crosier with which the commendatories emblazon their coats of arms, are to the monks the very abomination of desolation; and to denote that these ensigns of authority are of no consequence, they have a sarcasm which is adopted even by the Italian canonists: *Muralia & Pedalia in Abbate Commendatario, sicut genitalia in Mulo.* The abbies held by regulars are only triennial, not that at the end of every triennium the abbots are reduced to plain monks; they are always abbots, *semel abbas, semper abbas*; but every one is removed to another abbey, and cannot return to the former till the third triennium.

At Padua we did not omit seeing the sad remains of the famous hall of the public palace. This hall, which was in breadth 90 feet, in length 260, the cieling supported only by the walls, might be reckoned one of the wonders of Italy for its dimensions, its emblematic and astrological paintings, of which the famous Peter d'Aupone (*a*) had given the designs to Giotto, one of

(*a*) Of this personage so distinguished among astrologers and alchymists, Leandro Alberti says: *Era eccellente astrologo e Phi-*

of the fathers of painting in Italy; and laſtly for the monuments erected in it to the memory of illuſtrious Paduans and benefactors to the city and univerſity of Padua. This vaſt ſtructure was covered with lead, which in moſt parts reſted on iron brackets. About two or three years before, it had been blown down by a hurricane, and the republic of Venice did not ſeem to give herſelf any concern about repairing it. The weſt wall, which formed one of the ends of this auguſt room, is not damaged; and there is ſtill to be ſeen on it the ſuppoſed buſt of Livy, with an inſcription in honour of him, and an epitaph of a freeman of Livia, which has been applied to that immortal hiſtorian.

The cathedral affords a very ſingular monument in the buſts of Benedict XIV, and Cardinal Rezzonico his ſucceſſor, and formerly biſhop of Padua, facing each other. The latter had obtained from Benedict XIV. both a renewal and enlargement of the privileges of his cathedral, one of the beſt endowed of all Italy; and in acknowledgment his chapter erected to him this monument, whilſt Benedict XIV. was ſtill living. It would have pleaſed much better, if, by way of indicating the motive, an ugly little arm had not been added to the buſt of the cardinal, preſenting a paper to that of the pope. A thought ſo out of the way muſt certainly have been fetched from the barbariſm of the lower empire.

e Philoſopho, ben che notato d'aver commercio, e gran familiarità col Diavolo: he was an excellent aſtrologer and philoſopher, yet famous for being in cloſe connection with the Devil.

In the ſacriſty of this church is the portrait of the celebrated Petrarch, who was one of the canons, and bequeathed to it part of his library. This picture is contemporary with the original, and the ſingular contraction of his features produces a penſive triſtful countenance, perfectly ſuitable to the perpetual chanter of amorous languors.

It was the univerſity vacation when we happened to be at Padua, ſo that we could have no perſonal knowledge of the *qui va li*, which all accounts of travellers are ſo full of; then we were told, that the ſtudents are very much fallen off from their pranks, as their number has decreaſed, which at preſent is indeed very ſmall. Beſides a pretty large number of particular colleges, this univerſity has a gymnaſium or public college, the inſide of which forms an oblong ſquare, with porticos or periſtyles on the ground floor, and round the firſt ſtory. Theſe porticos open into the ſeveral claſſes aſſigned to each faculty; they are as it were lined with unſightly programmas, wretchedly done in water colours, but the reſpectful offerings of ſtudents of all countries in Europe, to the memory of their profeſſors, with the coats of arms both of pupils and maſters.

I could not but admire its elliptical anatomy chamber, as conveniently holding ſeven hundred and eight perſons in a very narrow compaſs, and each row of the ſeats incloſed within a wooden baluſtrade. Fra Paolo is ſaid to have been both its inventer and deſigner: that celebrated perſon was no leſs the geometrician, the anatomiſt, the mechanic, than the divine; the Venetians will even have

have it that the diſcovery of the circula ion of the blood is owing to him: in whatever ſcience he employed himſelf, all the perſpecuity and extent of genius accompanied his inveſtigations, ſo that he was to the republic of Venice what Paſcal has ſince been to France.

Under his eye and under his auſpices it was that Galileo entered upon that courſe of ſtudies at the univerſity of Padua, wherein he daily diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſucceſſes and diſcoveries, which reſcued natural philoſophy from that ſervitude, in which it had been ſhackled ever ſince the revival of literature and the renovation of ſtudies. At Padua* are ſtill to be ſeen ſome wooden quadrants by Galileo's own hand, and by means of which he made diſcoveries, which aſtronomy glories in even to this day. The regard to which his works had raiſed him, in the opinion of the principal perſonages of the republic, ſupported him againſt the jealouſy, the vexations and the ill turns done him by the profeſſors his colleagues. Theſe vexations however, together with the love of his native country, at length determined him to break through engagements both honourable and beneficial, for a ſettlement in his own country, the ſovereign of which had long before been inviting him to come and ſhine among his fellow citizens.

I have procured from M. Nelli's muſeum at Florence the copy of a letter written to Galileo, by the ſenator Francis Sagredo, relating to this new ſettlement, and which I ſhall inſert as a monument of the affection and tenderneſs of his Venetian friends, and containing a literal prediction

* Or at Piſa.

of his future deſtiny at Florence; I ſhall ſubjoin to it the fragment of another letter on one of his diſcoveries, which ſeems to have been the germe which gave birth to the invention of the thermometer.

Copia della Lettera di Giovan-Franceſco Sagredo, Nobil Veneto, ſcritta à Galileo-Galilei, in data del 25 Maggio 1611, traſcritta dal ſuo originale eſiſtente nella Libreria dell' Illuſtriſſimo Signore Gio-Battiſta Nelli, Patrizio Fiorentino.

PER grazia divina il mio viaggio è riuſcito felicemente per via di Marſiglia, di dove mi ſono inviato per terra alla Patria; e con queſta occaſione ho vedute molte città con mio gran guſto, ſiccome ancò qui ricevo piacere in vedere, & avvertire tutte le fabbriche e ſiti, & ancora qualche uſanza, à ragione di uomo nuovo e foreſtiero, in comparazione delle altre città. E veramente parmi che Iddio mi abbia conceſſa molta grazia, facendomi naſcere in queſto luogo tanto bello, e così diſſimile da tutti gli altri, che per mio giudizio, chi aveſſe veduto tutto il mondo, trasferendoſi poi quí, potrebbe eſſer certo di vedere molte coſe degne e non piú vedute. Quì la libertà e la maniera del vivere in ogni ſtato di perſona, parmi coſa ammiranda, e forſe unica al mondo. Perciò mentre che io conſumo il tempo in penſare à queſte coſe, creda pure Voſignoria Eccellentiſſima, che io ſon corſo coll' animo ſubito alla ſua perſona, conſiderando che ſi ſia partita di quà; e le mie conſiderazioni ſono tutte fondate ſopra il ſuo e mio intereſſe.

Quanto al mio, io non vi trovo rimedio ſufficiente, perche dall' aſſenza alla preſenza vi è troppo gran paſſaggio; e ſiccome in alcuni guſti, che ella mi intende,

pare

pare che coll' imaginazione, e con qualche lieve da se aiuto, l' uomo gode in assenza quasi tanto come se fosse presente, nondimeno è impossibile aver il gusto del trattenimento e della conversazione, con altri accidenti, i quali sono quasi più essenziali che quell' ultimo diletto che da quasi tutti viene reputato come ultimo fine. Orsù io mi posso bene imaginare di essere con il mio Signore Galileo: posso volgermi nella memoria molti de' suoi dolcissimi ragionamenti; ma come è possibile, che l'imaginazione mi serva per representarmi, & indovinare tante giocondissime novità, che nella sua gentilissima conversazione io soleva trarre dalla sua viva voce! Possono forse queste essere compensate da una letteruccia alla settimana, letta da me si con molto gusto, ma scritta fosse da lei con troppo incommodo? In questo capo adunque, che è fondato sopra l' interresse mio, mi riesce la partenza di Vostignoria Eccellentissima di inconsolabile, ed incomprensibile dispiacere.

Quanto poi a' suoi interessi, io mi riposo al suo giudizio, anzi al suo senso: quì lo stipendio non era per mio credere in tuto sprezzabile: l'occasione della spesa, credo, molta poca con assai gusto, & il suo bisogno certo non tanto, che dovesse metterlo in pensiere di cose nuove per avventura incerte, e dubbiose. La libertà, e la monarchia di se stesso dove potrà trovarla come in Venezia? Principalmente avendo gli appoggi che aveva V. S. E i quali ogni giorno coll' accrescimento dell' età, e dell' autorità de' suoi amici, si faceva più considerabile.

Vostignoria Eccellentissima al presente è nella sua nobilissima Patria, ma è anco vero che è partita dal luogo dove aveva il suo bene: serve al presente Principe suo naturale, grande, pieno di virtù, giovane di singolare aspettazione; ma quì ella aveva il commando

ſopra quelli che commandano, e governano gli altri, e non aveva à ſervire ſe non à ſe ſteſſo, quaſi Monarca dell' Univerſo. La virtù e la magnanimità di quel Principe, dá molta buona ſperanza che la devozione, & il merito di V. S. ſia aggradito e premiato; ma chi può nel tempeſtoſo mare della Corte prometterſi di non eſſere dalli furioſi venti della emulazione, non dico ſommerſo, ma almeno travagliato & inquietato?

Io non conſidero l' età del Principe, il quale pare che neceſſariamente con gli anni non abbia da mutare ancora il temperamento, e la inclinazione, col reſto de' guſti; poiche già ſono informato che la ſua virtù ha coſi buone radici, che ſi deve anzi ſempre ſperarne migliori e più abbondanti frutti: ma chi ſà ciò che poſſono fare gl' infiniti & incomprenſibili accidenti del mondo, aiutati dalle impoſture degli uomini cattivi & invidioſi, i quali ſeminando & allevando nell' animo del Principe qualche falſo e calunnioſo concetto, poſſono valerſi appunto della giuſtizia di lui per rovinar un galant' uomo?

Prendono per un pezzo i Principi guſto di alcune curioſità, ma chiamati ſpeſſo dall' intereſſe di coſe maggiori, volgono l' animo ad altro: poi credo che il Granduca poſſa compiacerſi di andare mirando con uno de gli occhiali di Voſignoria la Città di Firenze, e qualche altro luogo circonvicino; ma per qualche ſuo biſogno importante, gli farà di meſtiere vedere quello che ſi fa per tutta Italia, in Francia, in Iſpagna, in Allemagna, & in Levante: egli ponerà da un canto l' occhiale di Voſignoria, la quale ſebben con il ſuo valore troverà alcuno altro ſtromento utile per queſto novo accidente, chi ſarà colui che poſſa inventare un' occhiale per diſtinguere i pazzi da i ſavii, il buono dal cattivo conſiglio, l' architetto intelligente da un prete oſtinato & igno-

& ignorante? Chi non ſà che giudice di queſto doverâ eſſere la ruota d' un' infinito numero di miglioni di ſciocchi, i voti de' quali ſono ſtimati ſecondo il numero e non á peſo?

*Non voglio più diffondermi nel ſuo intereſſe, perche gia da principio mi obbligai ſtare al ſuo giudizio e volere. Gli altri amici di Voſignoria Eccellentiſſima parlano molto diverſamente, anzi uno che gia era de' ſuoi più cari, mi ha proteſtato di rinunziare alla mia amicizia, quando io aveſſi voluto continuare in quella di Voſignoria, la quale ſiccomme non può ricuperare il perduto, coſi mi perſuado che ſaprà conſervare l' acquiſtato; ma quell' eſſere in luogo dove l' autorità de gli amici del Berlinzone * come ſi ragiona, val molto, molto ancora mi travaglia, &c.*

Copy of a Letter from Giovan Franceſco Sagredo, a Venetian nobleman, to Galileo Galilei, dated the 25th of May 1611, tranſcribed from its original in the library of Signor Gio-Battiſta Nelli, a Florentine nobleman.

Thank God I arrived ſafe and well at Marſeilles, from whence I came home by land, on which occaſion I had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a great many cities, and here I ſtill have the ſame pleaſure as a foreigner, in viewing and taking notice of all the ſeveral buildings and places, and ſome cuſtoms and uſages, compared with thoſe of other cities. And I really eſteem it as a great kindneſs of God, in cauſing me to be born in ſo charming a place, and ſo different from all others, that, in my

* *Queſto era un Padre Jeſuita.*

opinion,

opinion, a perſon, after travelling all over the world, may on coming hither be ſure of ſtill ſeeing many things worth his curioſity, and the like to which he never ſaw. Another admirable circumſtance here, and perhaps not to be parralled in the univerſe, is the freedom and manner of living among the ſeveral claſſes of people. Yet Sir, amidſt all theſe reflections, my mind, alarmed at your having left this place, made an excurſion to you; and believe me, all my ſpeculations on this diſagreeable ſubject, are entirely founded on both your intereſt and my own. As to mine, it is beyond any adequate remedy; the difference between preſence and abſence is too great to be compenſated; and if ſome pleaſures are, by means of imagination and other little helps of one's own, to be enjoyed clearly as well when abſent as preſent, yet is it impoſſible to have the true reliſh of converſation and amuſement, with other incidents which are no leſs eſſential than that conſummating delight, however it be by moſt accounted the ultimate end. Well, I may eaſily fancy myſelf to be with my dear Galileo: I may recal to mind many of his charming converſations; but how is it poſſible that my imagination ſhall repreſent to me, and divine the many new ſtrokes of wit and ingenious pleaſantries, which I uſed to hear in his entertaining converſation, and the more charming, as coming from his own mouth? Theſe it may be ſaid, but very wrongly ſaid, will be made up, by a letter every week, which to be ſure I ſhall read with great pleaſure, but the writing of which perhaps put you to very great inconveniency.

Thus,

Thus, as to my intereſt, your departure gives me inexpreſſible concern.

Now as to your own intereſt, I refer myſelf to your judgment, and even your ſenſes: here you had a ſalary, which in my opinion was by no means deſpicable: your call for expences, I believe, was very ſmall, and no want of pleaſure; ſo that certainly you was under no neceſſity of ſeeking a new ſtation, which may not anſwer expectations. Where is a place like Venice for freedom, and being one's own maſter, eſpecially with ſuch ſupports as you had, and which every day of your life became more conſiderable by the increaſe of the power of your friends?

You are indeed in your own native country, but you have turned your back on that city where your ſubſiſtence was. You, at preſent, are in the ſervice of your natural ſovereign, who is young, and has many virtues and great endowments; but here you had the rule over thoſe who command and govern others, and, as monarch of the univerſe, had none but yourſelf to ſerve. That prince's many amiable and eminent qualities, give me great hopes that your ſervices will be approved of and your merit rewarded: but who in the tempeſtuous ſea of a court can promiſe himſelf, that the ſqualls and hurricanes of jealouſy and emulation, ſhall not diſturb and harraſs, if not ſink him to the bottom?

I do not mention your prince's age, as if years might give a diſfavourable turn to his temper, inclinations, and pleaſures; being already informed, that his virtue ſprings from ſuch good roots, that even better fruits are ſtill to be expected, and in greater

greater abundance: but who knows what may be brought about by the many unaccountable incidents and fluctuations of the world, together with the machinations of wicked and designing men, who sowing calumnies in the prince's breast, may abuse his justice to ruin a worthy man?

Princes take pleasure in some curiosities for a while, but are often diverted from them by greater concerns intervening: thus I make no doubt but the grand duke may be highly delighted with viewing his city of Florence, and the environs, through one of your glasses; but some important occurrence may make it necessary for him to look out after what is doing in every part of Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany and the Levant: then he lays aside your glass. What though your ingenuity could make him an instrument for this new emergency, where is the man who can invent a glass for distinguishing wise men from fools, good counsels from bad, and the intelligent architect from the ignorant and obstinate priest? This every one knows comes under the cognisance of a multitude of ignoramus's, whose votes go by number and not weight.

I forbear expatiating any farther on your interest, as at first I had bound myself to abide by your judgment and inclination. But give me leave to tell you, that your other friends here talk at a very different rate; and one who lately was among the foremost of them, has vowed to me, that he will disclaim all friendship with me, since I am for a correspondence with you, who, as you cannot recover what is lost, I persuade myself will

will preſerve what you have gained; after all, your being in a place where Berlinzone's * friends are ſaid to have great intereſt, ſtill gives me a vaſt deal of uneaſineſs, &c.

Copia di parte di Lettera ſcritta da D. Benedetto Caſtelli, à Monſignore D. Ferdinando Ceſarini, ſopra la cura d' un ferito.

In queſto mi ſovvene d' un' eſperienza fattami vedere gia più di trenta-cinque anni ſono, dal Signore noſtro Galileo, la quale fú che preſa una caraffella di vetro, di grandezza d' un piccol' uovo di gallina, col collo lungo due palmi in circa, e ſottile quanto un gambo di pianta di grano, e riſcaldata bene colle palme delle mani la detta caraffella, e poi rivoltando la bocca d' eſſa in vaſo ſottopoſto, nel quale era un poco d' acqua, laſciando libera dal calor delle mani la caraffella, ſubito l' acqua cominciò a ſalire nel collo; e ſormontò ſopra il livello dell' acqua del vaſo più d' un palmo: del quale effetto poi il medeſimo Signore Galileo ſi era ſervito per fabbricare uno ſtrumento da eſaminare i gradi del caldo, e del freddo: intorno al quale ſtrumento ſarebbe che dire aſſai.

Copy of part of a letter written by D. Benedetto Caſtelli, to Monſignore D. Ferdinando Ceſarini, on the cure of a perſon who had been wounded.

" This brings to my remembrance an experiment which our valuable countryman Galileo ſhewed me above thirty-five years ago, viz. that taking a glaſs phial of the bigneſs of a ſmall hen's egg, with a neck about two palms long, and as

* A Jeſuit.

ſlender

ſlender as the ſtalk of an ear of corn; and after well warming this phial between the palms of his hands, he turned the mouth of it downwards into a veſſel in which was a little water; the phial being left without the heat of the hand, the water began to aſcend in the neck, and roſe a full palm above the level of the water in the veſſel. Of this effect Galileo afterwards availed himſelf, ſo far as to make an inſtrument for examining the degrees of heat and cold, which inſtrument will doubtleſs be much talked of."

Having mentioned the ill terms which the immortal Galileo ſuffered, from thoſe who hated him for his ſuperior abilities, the following will fully manifeſt the high favour in which he ſtood with the firſt perſons in Venice.

During a viſitation of the univerſity of Padua, by the three procurators of St. Mark, who conſtitute a tribunal particularly erected, *per la Riforma dello Studio di Padoa*, a collegue of Galileo's, perhaps father Berlinzone himſelf, charged him, in his preſence, and at a full meeting, with keeping a girl at Padua, another at Gambarara, where he never failed going on vacation days, and a third at Venice, whither alſo he made frequent trips. Being ſummoned by the magiſtracy to anſwer to this charge, all he ſaid was, that he had wants, that thoſe wants were common to him with his accuſer, and that he had never minded in what way his accuſer ſatisfied ſuch wants. On this confeſſion, the *Riformatori* having taken it into deliberation, declared that the defendant's ſalary being inadequate to his wants, the republic doubled it,

at

at the same time exhorting him to make a good use of it.

The abbé Facciolati has comprehended, in an octavo of two hundred and forty pages, all the most interesting particulars, whether for importance or singularity, which the history of the university of Padua affords. This judicious abridgment merits a distinguished place in the history of the progress of the human mind. It is interspersed with some singular anecdotes, one of which I shall relate in the author's own words:

Anno 1722, *cum in Romanâ Curiâ quæreretur de virtutibus Franciſci-Sebaſtiani ab Apparitio ex Minoritis, cognomento Pyrauſtæ, ut in cœlitum album referretur; & pro negotii gravitate aliquid incidiſſet non ſatis planum atque explicatum, adhibita eſt in Conſilium præter Sorbonicam & Salmaticenſem, Univerſitas Patavina.*

Vixerat Pyrauſta uſque ad annum ſexageſimum, ſummâ vitæ integritate atque innocentiâ. Id ætatis cùm eſſet, puellam uxorem duxit; ſed ita tamen ut ſervato, ſi fieri poſſet, virginalis continentiæ propoſito, cuſtos potius & pater, quam maritus, vitæ ſociam atque adjutricem haberet: eâque intra annum defunctâ, alteram ſtatim eâdem conditione ſibi adjunxit. Cum utrâque continentiſſimè egit; & cum ſecundam quoque citò amiſiſſet, religioni ſe addixit, obiitque ſanctitatis famâ & miraculis clarus.

In dubium vocabatur, num duo hæc connubia ex chriſtianæ prudentiæ legibus inita dici poſſent ad virtutem heroicam exercendam; & cum ſententiæ variaſſent, alii quoque Theologi extra urbem conſulti ſunt. Scripſere ex noſtris de re hâc, jubente Collegio, Franc.

Hiacyntus

Hiacyntus Serri, Theologus Thomiſta, Fr. Nicolaus Buico, Theologus Scotiſta, & Preſbyter Michael Verrius, Logicæ Profeſſor. Ac primus quidem nihil in iis matrimoniis prudenter actum cenſuit; alter virtutem agnovit, non tamen heroicam; tertius matrimonium utrumque ſummis laudibus extulit, & Eccleſiæ honoribus dignum affirmavit. Collegii Patres, ſpecioſa ſecuti, ſecundùm Verrium pronuntiaverunt.

From this hiſtorian, who, in an advanced age, beſides a vaſt erudition, retains a moſt agreeable chearfulneſs, I heard ſome other anecdotes, which I promiſe myſelf will not be thought unacceptable here.

Garibaldo, that profeſſor of law of whom the above quoted hiſtory ſays, page 104, that *turba Studentium confertiſſima hunc ex ſede ſuâ ſublatum, in capaciorem aliam, ubi poſſet illum audire commodius, exportavit*, going home one night with his wife after ſupping at a friend's, fell in with the *qui-va-li*. After a little diverſion with them he named himſelf, concluding that this would aſſuredly check their petulance; but the doctor was miſtaken; the *qui-va-li* increaſed, and preſſed on him more and more. On this he to his name added his titles of *Doctor & Profeſſor publicus*. Even ſuch titles being of no avail, he then called out with a magiſterial voice: *Ego ſum Garibaldus Magiſter veſter, Doctor publicus, cum uxore publicâ.* On which theſe licentious youths diſperſed.

Another inſtance of the little reſpect theſe nurſelings of the muſes pay to their profeſſors, is, that once after ſpending part of the night in their freaks of *qui-va-li*, they, about two o'clock in the morning, came

tumultuouſly thundering at the lodgings of an aged profeſſor of humanity, cauſed his door to be opened, and ſent up two deputies to his bed-ſide, repreſenting to him that the whole univerſity were at daggers drawing, and they did not know what the conſequence might be, if he would not kindly condeſcend to hear the two parties and give his judgment, in which all would acquieſce, on an important queſtion that had thus violently divided them. The profeſſor roſe, cloathed himſelf, put on his doctoral gown, and took his ſeat on a ſtone bench by the ſide of his door: there the orator of each party made a long-winded ſpeech, all of common place, on the advantages and felicity of peace, union, and harmony, in literary ſocieties, and on the miſchiefs of diſſention and diſcord in any ſociety whatever: they prolixly expatiated on the confidence of the univerſity in the knowledge and zeal of a profeſſor, who ſo aſſiduouſly devoted both his days and nights to its improvement; and after having heaped the moſt extravagant encomiums on the doctor, they at length came to the important queſtion; which was, whether one of the leaſt decent words of all the Italian tongue ſhould be written with one Z or two? *ſcrivetelo con* 3000, write it with 3000, anſwered the enraged profeſſor, *e che il cancaro vi culli, canaglia maledetta*, and a pox take ye for a ſet of impudent raſcals.

The univerſity of Padua has a profeſſorſhip for the Thomiſtic divinity, which, for a long time, had been held by French jacobins: the celebrated Father Serri filled it with the higheſt luſtre for the ſpace of forty years. On his de-

ceaſe the jacobins of France ſent in his room a ſubject, who, falling under the law ſo as to loſe his head, has not been replaced. After a tedious expectation of a ſucceſſor, the univerſity has diſpoſed of this profeſſorſhip in favour of an Italian dominican. On entering the houſe of theſe fathers, one ſees at the end of the cloyſter on the right-hand, a large epitaph on white marble, which is that of the above P. Serri, and the following is an exact copy of it.

D. O. M.
Franciſco-Jacobo-Hyacinto Serri,
Thelonienſi, e gente pervetuſta
et nobili oriundo,
ex ordine Prædicatorum,
Doctori Sorbonico,
per annos XL. *in Patav. Gymnaſio*
Theologiæ Profeſſori.
Pluribus ſingular. ingen. atque exquiſitæ
Doctrinæ operibus claro.
Divinæ præſertim gratiæ, Romanæ ſedis,
Auguſtinianæ ac Thomiſticæ ſcholæ,
Propugnatori ac vindici acerrimo.
Sinens. rituum, quos Clemens XI. *Pont. Max.*
apoſtolico poſtea mucrone confixit,
Everſori ſtrenuo atque invicto.
Viro ſolidæ ac veræ pietatis cultori.
Hujus Coenobii P. P. ut illius imitatione
Poſterorum ingenia
Ad laudem excitarentur M. M. P. P.
Vixit ann. LXXX. *Obiit Ann.* M.DCC.XXXVIII.

One of the eſtabliſhments of the moſt ſolid benefit, now exiſting in Padua, is the *ſeminary*, which was

was almoſt wholly founded towards the cloſe of the laſt century, by the illuſtrious cardinal Barbarigo, whoſe beatification is now in hand at Rome, and the epiſcopal virtues of whom drew from doctor Burnet, who knew this prelate, a very extenſive panegyric, and in which flattery could have no part. To the ſeminary's former ſtock the cardinal added a yearly income of 15000 ducats, which has enabled it to provide with lodging, food, and all the neceſſaries of life, an hundred young eccleſiaſtics, who there, with very ſmall expence, and with exemption to the poor, are educated in the ſpirit of St. Charles and the founder. The preſent pope, when biſhop of Padua, greatly countenanced this foundation, to which is annexed a printing houſe very well furniſhed with Latin, Greek, Hebrew and oriental types; it does a great deal of buſineſs, and the balance of the profits goes to the houſe.

Padua has another conſiderable printing houſe, that of Joſeph Comino, of no ſmall reputation, having under the direction of meſſieurs Wolpi, profeſſors in the univerſity, printed a great number of editions, not leſs valuable for correctneſs, than for the types and paper: three articles in which Italian publications have for a long time been very deficient. Another particular I have obſerved in the editions of ancient authors which have come from this preſs, that the moſt licentious of them, ſuch as Horace, Catullus, Martial, *&c.* though *ad uſum ſtudioſæ juventutis*, are without the leaſt expunction, alteration, or extenuation; thus the mind of the Italians is early familiariſed with the free-

doms of poetry, as are their eyes with thoſe of painting: which, perhaps, leſſens their effect, and produces an indifference and inſenſibility in the moſt reſerved Italians at pieces and objects, which our northern Catos adjudge to the flames or utter darkneſs and oblivion: they are like the ſavages, in reſpect of their nakedneſs, to which the force of cuſtom, as it were, ſhuts their eyes.

Study is ſtill not without conſiderable helps at Padua, particularly two numerous libraries, one belonging to the cathedral, and the other to the city, both with many curious and ſcarce pieces, and open to public uſe.

Beſides theſe, Padua has, for theſe two centuries paſt, been famous for a phyſic garden, kept with a care and elegance ſuitable to the value and beauty of its contents. The chief object of our admiration was ſome Indian willows, very lofty and luxuriant, and the branches bending under tufts of ſlight twigs and leaves, all interlaced and hanging down to the ground, like ſo many full bottom perriwigs. Of the ſame date is likewiſe its muſæum of Natural Hiſtory, the ſtudy of which, at preſent ſo much in vogue in the northern countries, and the objects appertaining to it, have long ſince been inveſtigated, known, and even common in Italy; ſo that with regard to theſe objects, and indeed to many others, the Italians, if they are not our maſters, are our ſeniors *(a)*.

Fac-

(a) Among the Paduan literati is Benedetto Burdono, who died in 1530, and one of the firſt to whom geography and coſmography owe any improvements worth mentioning. He

Facciolati, the hiſtorian of Padua's univerſity, whom I have ſpoken of above, favoured me with a ſight of his collection, which, though in another kind, is not leſs remarkable; it is a ſeries of paintings exhibiting the hiſtory of that art ſince its revival in Europe: it opens with Greek paintings, the imitation of which made the firſt painters in Italy: theſe are Madonna's ſervilely taken off without any taſte in the deſign, and the execution ſo dry and ſpiritleſs, that they are ſcarce above the Madonnas with which our peaſants decorate their cottages. The art gradually diſplays itſelf in the following maſters: Giotto, Mantegna, the Bellinis, lead to Raphael and Titian; and to theſe, through a ſucceſſion of painters, who, according to the ſucceſs of their attempts, have if not enriched, at leaſt preſerved the art, ſucceed the Carrachi. In a word, this collection reminds the ſpectator of the gradations obſerved by Cicero in the monuments of Grecian ſculpture *: *Quis non intelligit Canachi ſigna rigidiora eſſe, quam ut imitentur veritatem? Calamidis dura illa quidem, ſed molliora quam Canachi. Nondum Myro-*

He was the father of the celebrated Julius Cæſar Scaliger, who aſſumed this name in preference to that of his family, chuſing rather to be deſcended from the princes of Verona, than from a plain honeſt geographer. His ſon ſupported the ſame chimera with a haughtineſs which only drew more ridicule on his ſham nobility. He even publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the oppugners of his genealogy; it is printed with his letters under the title of *Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum*. In this preſumption Julius Cæſar made good the Italian ſaying; *Out of his own country every man, forſooth, is a gentleman.*

* Cicero in Bruto, Edit. Robert. Steph. tom. 1. p. 227.

nis satis ad veritatem adducta, sed tamen quæ non dubites pulchra dicere. Pulcriora etiam Policleti & jam pæne perfecta, ut mihi quidem videri solent. Only change the names and you have before you Mr. Facciolati's cabinet; which, in this point of view, is of infinitely more importance, and is beheld with more satisfaction, than the many splendid and costly collections in Italy, in which, compared to this, one only finds, as it were, *disjecta membra picturæ.*

It is not however absolutely decided that painting, after its expulsion from Italy, owes its revival there intirely to models brought from Greece. Paulus Diaconus in the 23d chapter of the 4th book of his history of the Lombards tells us, that in the 6th century, queen Teudelinda, spouse to Autharis and afterwards to Agilulf, had the atchievements of the first Lombard kings painted on the walls of the Basilic, which that princess erected at Monza, in honour of St. John. This fine art therefore continued in Italy till the 6th century, and even so as to handle sublime subjects; the manner may indeed prove the imperfect state of the art in those times, but it ascertains its existence.

The perpetuity of it down to the 10th century, is expressly demonstrated by a passage of Raterius in the second part of his treatise *de Contemptu Canonum.* This German monk, whom cunning and intrigue raised to the see of Verona, from whence he had been expelled three times, and who, at last died in his monastery of Lobes in Flanders, was not behind hand with the Italians, for the hatred they bore him. In the trea-

tise

tiſe juſt now mentioned, which is in the form of a dialogue, he is aſked, why, of all chriſtian nations, the Italians are they who expreſs the greateſt contempt for the canons and the clergy? He makes anſwer: *Quoniam quidem libidinoſiores eos & pigmentorum Venerem nutrientium frequentior uſus, & vini continua potatio & negligentior diſciplina facit*, and to theſe imputations he limits the cauſes of the contempt complained of; ſo that, here again, in the 10th century, we find Italy with paintings; and ſuch effect on the morals ſhews that as to ſkill they were not without merit. The Italian taſte for that kind of painting, muſt naturally have formed artiſts, and perpetuated the art: the *frequentior uſus* in the paſſage above quoted, farther ſhews ſuch a taſte to have been very general and prevailing.

In proceeding from the age in which Raterius wrote, to that in which the firſt painting ſchools in Italy were formed, we meet with times much more favourable to the perpetuity of the art, than the barbariſm of preceding ages. Italy, by the recovery of its freedom in parties, was drawing near to that brilliant proſperity, which it attained by means of the confederacy of the cities of Lombardy, *ſocietà de'Lombardi*, about the cloſe of 12th century. The opulence which induſtry ſpread among theſe tribes, whom their union had rendered reſpectable, at the ſame time ſpread among them a fondneſs for the arts, eſpecially thoſe, which, like painting, had ever been their delight.

We ſaw at Padua ſeveral of the firſt eſſays of this fine art; in a chapel near that which contains St. Anthony's tomb, are ſeveral of Giotto's

pieces. In a chapel of the Auguſtines church, Mantegna, one of the firſt maſters of the Venetian ſchool, has painted St. Chriſtophers life in figures of natural ſize in a convent of nuns. The lady veſtry-keeper was very eager to ſhew us a large ſervice book, where all the capital letters are embelliſhed with miniatures of that maſter.

Padua, after a long proſperity under the Roman empire, was reduced and deſtroyed by Attila. On this, according to the moſt received opinion, the Paduans, leaving their city in its ruins, withdrew among the Lagunas, where they laid the foundations of the city and republic of Venice. A hundred years after, this city, which had been rebuilt of wood, was delivered up to the flames by Agilulf, king of the Lombards. Narſes having rebuilt it in 560, it increaſed both in largeneſs and power under the protection of Charlemain and his lineage, who uſed to appoint particular governors for it. Under the Othos, in imitation of the other cities of Italy, it declared for liberty; but in 1237 its importance drew on it the forces of the emperor Frederic II. who ſet over it the famous Ezzelin di Romano, whom the Venetian hiſtorians make one of the moſt inhuman tyrants that ever was entruſted with power. Some of the contemporary pens, who have thus blackened Ezzelin, were unqueſtionably under the influence of that party-ſpirit, by which thoſe unhappy cities were at times diſtracted. It is certain, at leaſt, that this prince, or this tyrant, if it muſt be ſo, enlarged Padua by above one half, as at this day may be demonſtrated by the antient circuit of this city ſtill ſubſiſting. He diſtributed into

into it the waters of the Brenta and Baciglione for the ſervice of manufactures, which he eſtabliſhed and which flouriſhed under his protection. He built a large palace, and part of it is ſtill in being. Farther monuments of his reign are the bridge joining to the palace, and a mill of thirty or forty wheels, not unlike the famous *Bazacle* at Toulouſe. His neighbours ſtood in awe of him, the Guelfs dreaded him, and to him Padua owed the enlargement of its territory by ſeveral important conqueſts. In ſhort we have, in our diſcuſſion on the ancient ſtate of Romagna, quoted ſeveral paſſages of contemporary authors, which may give an idea of the taſte, the magnificence, the luxury and pleaſures that prevailed at Padua under this ſo execrated prince. A croiſade, by which part of Romagna was drawn under the pope's colours, deprived Ezzelin of Padua, and transferred it to the Cararas, whoſe government was no leſs turbulent abroad than at home, being continually at war with the lords of Verona, the dukes of Milan and the Venetians. At length they in 1403 fell under the laſt, by whoſe order, Francis II. who having been beſieged in the citadel of Padua, ſurrendered at diſcretion to the Venetian general, and repaired to Venice to implore the ſenate's mercy, was ſtrangled in priſon. Three of theſe princes had died by the hands of their neareſt relations and their own children.

All now remaining to Padua of its former trade and manufactories is only one houſe of foreign traffic, and one cloth manufactory, which Venice ſtill allows for home conſumption.

MONTSELICE.

This town, which Leandro Alberti conceives to be the *Acelum* of Pliny and Ptolemy's *Acedum*, ſhared in all the viciſſitudes of Padua, to the domain of which it had been joined by Ezzelin. It was then defended by a citadel of which the ſite only is now diſtinguiſhable. In the yard of the inn we dined at was a bathing vaſe dug up within theſe two years, and uſed as a water trough for horſes. Beſides being the firſt antique of that kind which we had ſeen in Italy, it was of the fineſt Grecian marble, its form extremely elegant, the workmanſhip ſuitably exquiſite, and finely preſerved, except a bit of the edge which a horſe, a few days before, had broke off with his teeth. I aſked the landlord whether he had any patron at Venice, adviſing him to ſend him this watering trough, as nothing would be more acceptable at Venice, where they never ſaw any ſuch thing: we have ſince, at Rome and elſewhere, ſeen the like bathing vaſes, which, eſpecially at Rome, are converted to baſons for the public fountains, but not one equal to this for exquiſiteneſs and ſimplicity.

Weſt of Montſelice, are *Eſte* and *Arqua*, or *Arquato*; one famous for the origin of the houſe of Eſte, which took its name from it, and the other as the burial place of Petrarch *(a)*, who had ſpent the

(a) Concerning Petrarch's ſepulchre, Aretino has preſerved a remarkable anecdote of a peaſant of Arquato, who ſeems to have been very deſirous of coming in for a part of that

the laſt years of his life there. Farther, and in the ſame bearing, with regard to Ferrara, is *la Stellata*, where was born Angelo Manzolli, more known by the name of Palingenius, under which he compoſed the Latin poem called *Zodiacus Vitæ*, alluſively to the name of his native place. This puerile alluſion little ſuits ſuch a poem, perhaps one of the moſt ſolid and beſt Latin performances, which have appeared ſince the revival of literature. The author was phyſician to Hercules duke of Ferrara, to whom he dedicates the work: the freedom with which the popes, the clergy, and ſome religious obſervances are treated, was unqueſtionably a conſequence of the author's acquaintance with proteſtants, to whom the dutcheſs of Ferrara, daughter to the good king Lewis XII. graciouſly afforded a comfortable ſhelter, againſt the ſeverity of Francis I. This princeſs's protection, however, could not ſecure the *Zodiacus Vitæ* from the revenge of the council of Trent, being ſet down in the firſt claſs of prohibited books; nor the author from the rage of the inquiſition, for after his death, his corpſe, as I was informed at Ferrara, had been dug up by their order.

that poets immortality. I ſhall give it in his own words: *Un Contadino di Arquato, il quale non ſapea cio che foſſe memoria, volſe laſciar cento ducati al Piovano della chieſa, perche il corpo ſuo ſi metteſſe nella ſepoltura del Petrarca: à onta tua, ô generoſita! à la tua barba, ô gloria!* Lib. II. Ep. al Car. C. del 10 April. 1538. A peaſant at Arquato, who knew nothing of memory, took it into his head to leave a hundred ducats to the pariſh prieſt, that his corpſe, forſooth, might be laid in Petrarch's ſepulchre. What a ſcandal to generoſity! what an inſult to glory!

To this laſt city we returned through a country continually interſected by rivers and canals, which are either forded or croſſed over bridges, or in ferry boats. At all theſe paſſes a toll is to be paid, which travellers muſt ſee to charge to the Vetturini, or maſters of the carriages, in bargaining with them: otherwiſe there is no end of anſwering their demands, and they ſhare with the toll gatherers.

After the extortion at Ferrara, which I have related in the article of that city, we thought we could not do better than give ourſelves up to our Procaccio; whereas we could not have fallen into worſe hands. This man had under him four or five carriages, which had brought the legate's retinue; every day's journey he divided between ſaying roſaries with a ſtentorian voice, and making his paſſengers do the like, and ſwearing and curſing at his poſtillions, whoſe nakedneſs and emaciated look beſpoke their maſter's temper, and the miſery of a country, where people are under a neceſſity of engaging with ſuch maſters. This wretch was ſo implacable with regard to roſaries, that a jeſuit, whom he took up by the way, having refuſed to join with him, ſaying, that to pray with ſuch a hardened blaſphemer would be offending God, the devout *Procaccio* went to the inquiſition, at the town where he ſat him down, and informed againſt him, though the father's breaſt, ſtomach, and a great part of his belly were fenced by a large crucifix hanging from his neck.

As to ourſelves, his religious indignation went no farther, than frequently muttering the com-

mon

mon saying among the Italian mobility concerning the French: *Questa gente non crede in Dio*, those people do not believe in God. Besides, seeing us pretty often reading, and not knowing what our books turned on, he was afraid of treating us with the same abruptness, as he very insolently did those who were unemployed.

These rosaries put me in mind of the troops of pilgrims returning from our lady of Loretto, and who, some on foot, others in chaises or carts, crowded the roads. At our departure from Bologna we had met multitudes of others going to Loretto, so that every night all the towns in Romagna, inns, squares and streets swarmed with them. These troops consist of whole villages, and often with the priest and lord and lady of the manor at their head; their singing, laughing, and bawling, the common practice of such confused crowds, proclaim their approach from afar. On their coming up to us, every one, for the public edification, fell to work with his rosary, singing, or rather howling out the virgin's litanies, and casting a look of pity on us, as miscreants whom God had utterly rejected. Other groupes attacked us from their carts, with the language which passes between land or water carriages at meeting; and this ribaldry pleased us the better, as teaching us some Italian words, which we should not have met with in books, nor our usual conversation. The freedom and coarse merriment, which are the very soul of these parties, open conveniencies for temporary intrigues, which the pilgrims, of both sexes, are well versed in improving: all this they reconcile

cile, as our *Procaccio* mingled roſaries with his oaths and blaſphemies.

We had made a written agreement with him that he was to ſtop in what cities we ſhould meet with on the road. Ancona was the firſt ſtage, and he put up at a paltry inn half a league off. We, according to the contract, required that he ſhould carry us thither; but having no magiſtrate at hand, nor any horſes but his, and farther perceiving that his drift, in this contrivance, was to put us under a neceſſity of hiring horſes and poſtilions to carry us to Ancona; in order to defeat his reckoning, we left a ſervant with the carriage and footed it forward to Ancona, where we arrived that evening. This, by the way, for the inſtruction of travellers, who cannot be too much upon their guard, with theſe upright gentry. No precaution did I neglect: after a little experience, I uſed to mark down any point wherein I had failed; and by additional articles, made in ſubſequent negociations, theſe treaties were ſwelled to the length of no ſmall contracts. At firſt the fellows ſeemed ſtunned at this, and came into every thing; but their looks plainly told me, that they had in their heads ſome trick which eſcaped my foreſight; and, in reality, they proved, by ſome new artifice, ſuch as I have juſt now related, that one never thinks of every thing. Lucre is a great point in all their ſpeculations; but they are ſo fond of plaguing and haraſſing foreigners, that they never forbear, even when nothing is to be got by it; and on any ſuch opportunity, they ſay among one another with a kind of extacy: *ho cogl... queſto foreſtiere*, I have b----- that out-landiſhman.

ſhman. In ſhort, to deal with them is to lay a wager that they do not bite you, and they always win.

ANCONA.

The great difference of this city, from the account given of it by Miſſon and other travellers, amazed us: "It is ſurpriſing, ſays Miſſon, how "trade is come to nothing in a place which it "once made ſo famous. Indeed, adds he, no-"thing of this kind ſhould amaze us after ſuch an "inſtance as Antwerp." Ancona makes the very ſame appearance as Marſeilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, and every other city of a large maritime commerce. On our taking a particular view of this city, our amazement encreaſed; here are a great number of rich magazines; commercial houſes, in connection both with the principal places of Europe and the Levant; manufactures moſt of a recent date, but which time will increaſe and multiply; very rich Jews, living in handſome houſes; laſtly counts and marquiſes, who having ſhaken off former prejudices, carry on trade and are taken up with invoices and bills. The like induſtry and activity is ſeen in the commonalty: The men bringing goods from the harbour into the city, out of the city to the harbour, or from warehouſe to warehouſe, whilſt the women keep at home, that is, in very ſmall chambers, the dwelling-place of the whole family, making ſail-cloth; and about the harbour children between ſeven and eight earn their livelihood in carrying rubbiſh,

rubbiſh, *puzzolana* and mortar in hand barrows. Another ſure ſign of the riſing proſperity of Ancona, are the workſhops one every where meets with, either for building new houſes, or inlarging, and embelliſhing the former. Amidſt this general buſtle the monks do not lye dormant: in the article of Ravenna, I have mentioned a fine large church, which the Dominicans of Ancona were building new from the ground.

Such a happy revolution in the condition of this city is a living proof how any ſovereign, even a pope, may promote the ſplendor of his dominions. The whole depends on opening a field for induſtry. This revolution Clement XII. effectuated by declaring Ancona a free port, by building a Lazaretto, which was done under the inſpection of his architect Vitelli; and as the pontiff ſpared no coſt for ſo worthy a deſign, ſo is it a maſter-piece in its kind; laſtly, by granting a toleration for thoſe religions, which the church of Rome has thought fit to cut off from its communion.

The rupture between Benedict XII. and Venice completed what Clement XII. had begun. Ancona, even in its declenſion, was looked on by the Venetians with an eye of jealouſy. The rupture made Benedict XIV. ſtill more intent on reſtoring the commerce of this city, and he ſettled particular funds both for rebuiling the weak parts of the former mole, and for lengthening it ſo as to form a ſure fence againſt the northerly winds, to which the harbour lies open.

The deceaſe of that pontiff had not yet cauſed any interruption of thoſe works, which put us in mind of the active Tyrians at Carthage. *Inſtant ardentes*

ardentes Tyrii, &c. But I am apt to doubt whether, now that the Holy See and Venice have made up matters, these noble views will be followed by a Venetian pope, who, besides, may think the church revenues more suitably employed on the continual wants of a city, part of whose inhabitants subsist only from alms-giving.

The old marble mole which was built by Trajan, is divided in its centre by that triumphal arch, which all accounts are full of, and which, with Rimini bridge and the square house at Nimes, is one of the most intire remains of Roman grandeur that I have ever seen. It is still, as I may say, fresh from the mint, as if time and the elements had, in this monument, respected the memory of a prince, who placed his chief delight in making mankind happy. On it is this inscription:

IMP. CÆSARI DIVI NERVÆ F.
NERVÆ TRAJANO
OPTUMO, AUG. GERMANICO, DACICO,
PONT. MAX.
TRIB. POT. XIX. IMP. IX. COS. V. P. P.
PROVIDENTISSIMO PRINCIPI,
S. P. Q. R. QUOD ADCESSUM ITALIÆ,
HOC ETIAM ADDITO EX PECUNIA SUA PORTU,
TUTIOREM NAVIGANTIBUS REDDIDERIT.

On the right-hand under this inscription:

PLOTINÆ AUG.
CONJUGI AUG.

And on the left:

DIVÆ MARCIANÆ.
SORORI AUG.

The opening or bay, formed by this arch, ſeems to the eye of a heighth more than double its breadth; a proportion which cauſes it to appear too ſcanty, but occaſioned by the narrowneſs of the ground. Indeed if on this narrow ſpace, the bay had been confined to the ordinary proportions, and the arch allowed its preſent height, the bay would have been a kind of wicket in a maſs which would have cruſhed it; or, had the ſtructure been proportionably contracted, this monument, which was to be a diſtant land-mark to mariners, would have been a mere bauble, not perceived till one was juſt on it. In ſhort, the ſea being its true point of view, the contractedneſs of the bay muſt ſcarce be perceivable by mariners, whoſe courſe is never or very rarely direct to this bay.

The cathedral of Ancona ſtands on the ſummit of a promontory, by the ancients called *Cumerum*, and the firſt ſite of Ancona. This promontory forms the point of that angle which the Appenine deſcribes, turning there from north ſouthward, after having run eaſtward from Genoa. To this angle Ancona may be concluded to owe its name, which in the language of the Greeks, by whom it was given, ſignifies elbow or *flexure*, and not to the curvature made by its harbour, which, in this reſpect, has nothing peculiar in it from all the harbours in the univerſe.

The ſummit of this promontory, which to this day is inhabited, we reached with no ſmall difficulty, againſt a very ſtrong wind in our faces, though the ſky was quite ſerene. The fatigue, indeed, was ſuch as to make a glaſs of the cathedral

dral wine very acceptable to me, and I found it anſwerable to the ancient reputation of the Ancona wines. It is now called *Sirolo* wine, and is the produce of the ſouth declivity of the mountain, on the ſummit of which ſtands the citadel.

The cathedrald edicated to St. Quiriacus has replaced a temple formerly conſecrated to Venus, and mentioned by Juvenal *(a)*: all worth notice in it is ſome good paintings and its marble portal, which undoubtedly was built at the expence of the old mole; but utterly void of taſte or deſign. From the lobby of this church one ſees at a ſmall diſtance the ſea, the harbour, the city, its works and environs, a moſt delightful proſpect; but the wind ſcarce allowed us a ſteady enjoyment of it. The ſituation of Ancona ſeemed to me ſomething like that of Marſeilles, but much more muſt it have been ſo, before the people of Ancona had quitted the mountain and ſettled in the level of the ſhore; now the only part of it inhabited is the declivity neareſt the harbour: its houſes, which are cannon proof, communicate with the city and with one another, by ſtreets like ſteep ſtairs of a hundred, or a hundred and fifty ſteps, kept in very indifferent repair, but with landing places, as I may call them, for the croſs ſtreets. Such a place as Ancona, before its leaving the mountain, had no need of fortifications to make it impregnable.

Its natural advantages ſeconded the courage of the inhabitants in the long ſiege, which

(a) Sat. IV. he ſpeaks of a monſtrous fiſh ſtranded in the harbour:

Ante domum Veneris quam Dorica ſuſtinet Ancon.

it ſuſtained with ſucceſs againſt all the forces of the Goths, though vigorouſly attacking it both by land and ſea: a reſiſtance the more memorable, it being then the only place in Italy remaining to the Romans. It was theſe advantages and the unanimity of its citizens which likewiſe preſerved it independent, amidſt the diſturbances of Italy, its reſtleſs neighbours, the jealouſy of the Venetians, and continual vexations from the popes, whom it acknowledged as protectors, but would never allow to be its maſters: with power or courage to ſtand the threatnings of the Turks, and oppoſe their frequent deſcents on its coaſt, it might, perhaps, have remained independent to this very day. But in 1537, Clement VII. under pretence of its ſecurity, built a citadel on the hill parallel to the promontory on which ſtood the original Ancona, and which conſequently commands modern: the upſhot was that the artillery and garriſon, which he expeditiouſly poured into the citadel, ſome Italian practices co-operating, obliged Ancona to acknowledge a maſter: *ſenſit Dominum, frænumque recepit.*

Leandro Alberti highly praiſes a citizen of Ancona named Ciriaco, as one of the firſt moderns who made the ſtudy of antique monuments his buſineſs. Prompted by this curioſity, he travelled over almoſt all Europe and a great part of Aſia and Africa, copying and drawing with his own hand, theatres, circuſes, temples, ſtatues, tombs, obeliſks, pyramids, triumphal arches, inſcriptions, *&c.* the whole made ſeveral large volumes, and the more valuable, as, ſince the 15th century when he lived, great numbers of theſe monuments are

come

come to nothing. This perhaps is what led Antonius Auguſtinus to reproach him with having drawn many of thoſe monuments merely from his imagination. But whether theſe collections are ſtill in being, or where they are, I know not. Alberti tells us, that in 1534, Peter Apintio and Bartholomew Amantio printed part of them in Germany. When the people with whom Cyriaco lived, or with whom he travelled, minding nothing but gain, uſed to aſk him what he ſhould get by all his expences and fatigues, he would anſwer with an air of diſdain the glory of reviving the dead.

We one day met in the ſtreets of Ancona a very pretty young woman ſmartly dreſt, in the habit of a pilgrim, aſking alms from door to door; ſhe was ſquired along by a well-looking man, likewiſe in the garb of a pilgrim. But I could not forbear lifting up my eyes, on hearing that he was not her huſband, and that theſe pilgrimages are ſtill very common in Italy: they are performed in a calaſh, and the pilgrims go about the city aſking alms; what money is thus gathered goes to the poor; the people like it; and huſbands take no umbrage; for to imagine that ſo pious a work can be made a cloak of to any carnal tranſactions, *is not to believe in God.*

LORETTO.

Ancona is in a higher latitude than Rome, the road to which after running eaſtward as far as Ancona, there winds off to the ſouthward. Along the fifteen miles which make the diſtance

between this laſt place and Loretto, you leave to the right the ruins of *Cingulum*, a town built by Labienus, one of Cæſar's lieutenant generals, who peopled it with ſoldiers that had acquired ſome ſubſtance by their plunder among the Gauls. As this country, which lies between the Apennine and the ſea, forms a very fertile and delightful plain, ſo its ancient population was ſuitable to its pleaſantneſs and fertility. Beſides the above *Cingulum*, on this coaſt were two towns of the name of *Cupra*, another called Humana or Numana, and *Potentia* a fourth; but of all theſe nothing now remains except the mention of them in Pliny and Ptolemy. *Auximum* their ancient metropolis is at preſent inhabited only by the canons and monks, to whom a great part of this delicious country belongs.

* Loretto has ſuperſeded *Cupra Montana*, once famous for a temple built by the ancient Tuſcans or Etruſci, when maſters of this country, that is, before the Gauliſh invaſion. † This temple was dedicated to Juno-Cupra: *Littoreæ fumant altaria Cupræ*, ſays Silius Italicus. This epithet ſeems to denote *Cupra maritima*, which Pliny and Ptolemy have alſo placed along this coaſt; but thoſe ancient people who founded this temple, uſually made choice of mountains or promontories for this kind of monuments. Beſides, the mountain on which Loretto now ſtands, has a proſpect of the ſea, and indeed is but at a ſmall diſtance from it; now ſuch a ſituation was enough for a poet, who is not tied down to geographical preciſion, to give it the epithet of *Littorea*.

* Leandr. Alberti. † lib. 8.

The

The fathers Turſelini, a jeſuit, and Braglioni of the oratory, publiſhed in the laſt century the hiſtory of the *Santa-Caſa*, that is, of the *ſacred houſe*, which for near three hundred years paſt has drawn all Europe to Loretto. In theſe hiſtories may be ſeen the particulars of its removal from Nazareth into Dalmatia, and from Dalmatia to the place where, at laſt, it is unalterably ſettled, after changing place no leſs than three times in the foreſt with which Loretto was formerly ſurrounded.

It originally owed its vogue to a vow made there by Julius II. on his being grazed by a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Mirandola, annexing large indulgences to it, and ſetting on foot many inſtitutions and buildings. This devotion was likewiſe a center of union between the people of his dominions and thoſe of the towns of Romagna and Lombardy, whom he had withdrawn from the ſovereignty of their reſpective princes, and brought within the demeſne of the church. Loretto became to the modern Romans, what Mont-Albano was to the ancient and the tribes of *Latium*.

This chapel the Carmelites had the cure of, whilſt the knowledge and worſhip of it was confined to its ruſtic neighbours; but the devotion increaſing apace, the founder of the jeſuits went in perſon, and ſettled fourteen of his diſciples there, and Julius III. provided for their ſubſiſtence. To theſe fourteen jeſuits Paul IV. added ſix, at the ſame time relinquiſhing to them the

pontifical palace built by his predeceſſors *(a)*. *Hoc collegium*, ſays father Turſelini, *non mortalibus ſolùm, ſed etiam Beatæ Mariæ cordi fuiſſe major in dies progreſſus oſtendit ------ Conſtat enim vel advenarum frequentiam, vel donorum copiam ſolito fuiſſe longè majorem.*

The communions differing from that of Rome have exerted themſelves againſt this devotion by all the arguments, which reaſon could ſuggeſt, and by many a keen ſarcaſm. The author of *Mundus alter & idem*, an Engliſhman, has appropriated to it the third ſection of his third book, under the title of *Moroniæ felicis Paradiſus*; as little has Miſſon ſpared it; but, in Italy, the credit of the *Santa Caſa* is not in the leaſt abated

We met, in the church itſelf, an old provençal prieſt, who told us he came to Italy in cardinal de la Trimouille's retinue, and had lived at Loretto theſe laſt forty years. The removal of the *Santa Caſa*, he ſaid, he as firmly believed as the Trinity, and the Incarnation. The chief motives for his belief were, 1ſt. The incorruptibility of a beam which had belonged to the roof, but now lies buried in the chapel floor, and though it was continually trodden under foot, the ſubſtance of it was neither diminiſhed or ſo much as changed. 2. The conſervation of the enamel of the ſacred porringer, which, though perpetually rubbed by

(a) In the collection of letters *di* XIII. *Hucmini Illuſtri*, ſee one from Guibert, biſhop of Verona to J. B. Mentebuona on the great need our lady of Loretto had of prieſts, recommendable both for piety and learning, *le quali ambedue parti erano à punto à punto, dello eſtremo contrario*, both which qualities they greatly wanted. This whole letter bears the ſtamp of a zeal equally wiſe and ardent.

chaplets,

chaplets, ſuffers no waſte, and the frictions ſeem rather to conſolidate it. Well, father, ſaid we, when we have ſpent forty years at Loretto, we may perhaps be in your way of thinking.

The motives of credibility which father Turſelini has accumulated, are more plauſible than thoſe of the hoary Provençal; but how are they to be reconciled with the account given by the Chevalier Cotovik, a thorough catholic, an honeſt Fleming, and a man of great piety, who, out of pure devotion, did in 1598 undertake a journey to Jeruſalem, of which in 1619 he publiſhed a narrative of great merit, both on account of his attention in viewing things, and the elegant Latin in which he deſcribes them?

In his deſcription of the reſpectable ruins ſtill exiſting in the town of Nazareth, he ſays: *Ad radicem montis, juxtà Maurorum Tuguriola, in ipſo oppidi ingreſſu, ubi Dei-para Virgo ab Angelo ſalutata fuit, inclytum religione templum extitit, Annuntiationi Virginis ſacrum, archiepiſcopali olim ſede præcellens, ex quadrato conſtructum ſaxo, columnis marmoreis porphireticiſque ſublime, peramplum, ſumptu & magnificentiâ inſigne: uti ex ingentibus columnis, partim confractis, partim ſepultis, altiſſimiſque parietibus etiamnunc extantibus colligitur.* He then proceeds to the cripta or ſubterraneous chapel under the choir of that cathedral, and gives a detail of its conſtruction in theſe words (*a*): *Deſcenditur per gradus lapideos*

(*a*) Had our traveller been acquainted with captain Seragli's deſcription of Loretto, publiſhed in 1665, it would have taught him, part 1. c. 21. that the *Santa-Caſa* ſtood under the vault of the ſubterraneous chapel at Nazareth, and that

pideos duodecim ad locum ſubterraneum rupi inciſum, ubi Virgo Maria ab Angelo ſalutata dicitur. Is ſub ipſo choro ſuperioris Eccleſiæ in tres dividitur cellulas ſibi cohærentes, quarum prima longitudine pedes decem continet, latitudine ſex; eſtque altari decorata lapideo, ſicut & media, ſed ſex tantùm perquadrum habet pedes, ut poſtrema quatuor. In mediâ ab occidentali latere, duas ingentes videre eſt columnas marmoreas, fuſci coloris, candidis internitentibus maculis, diſtantes inter ſe pedes quatuor, quarum una Meridiem reſpiciens, eo fertur poſita loci quo Angelus Beatiſſimam ſalutavit Virginem, oppoſita illi ubi precibus intenta ſedebat, dum ab Angelo ſalutaretur (b.)

Let future Turſelinis diſplay their ſagacity in bringing the church of Jeruſalem to correſpond with that of Rome; in reconciling Conſtantine, who, in building the church of Nazareth, had followed a tradition, which went current in his early time, with Boniface VIII. under whoſe pontificate the *Santa-Caſa* landed in Italy; laſtly, in

that it paſſed through this vault, and that in the chapel are ſtill to be ſeen the veſtiges of the ſpot it occupied: *quod affermava con giuramento nel ann.* 1663. *Fra Hiacinto di Cinquefoglie gia ſtato* 15. *meſi Guardiano di Nazarette.*

(*b*) The plan and deſign of this monument were doubtleſs among thoſe draughts of all the monuments of Greece and the Holy Land, which M. de Nointel, the French ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, cauſed to be taken under his own inſpection, by M. Carrey a pupil of Le Brun's. The collection of his deſigns (a collection the more valuable, as the pieces from which they are taken have ſince undergone many alterations) was removed from M. Foucault's cloſet into England, as they at Paris, who moſt concern themſelves about ſuch objects apprehend.

ſhewing

ſhewing a piece ſo fixed, and ſo very difficult to be removed, as that deſcribed by Cottovik, to be identically the ſame with ſuch a light and ambulatory chamber as that of Loretto.

However it be, the edifices of Loretto have all the magnificence which characteriſe the plans of Julius II. and which in Leo X. Clement VII. and Sixtus V. met with executors equal to their grandeur. The two former may be ſuppoſed acting on the ſame motives as Julius II: with regard to Sixtus V. to ſuch a ſoul as his, the love of his country was a ſufficient incentive.

The church was built from deſigns, and under the inſpection of Bramante; and in its lobby ſtands a maſterly ſtatue of the laſt mentioned pope (*a*), nearly as big as life. The doors, which are of the fineſt bronze, and proportioned after the manner of the old doors of the Pantheon, form ſeveral panels of unequal dimenſions, amidſt variety of cartridges, each with a bas-relief of ſome ſcriptural ſtory, the largeſt ſpaces being appropriated to the moſt remarkable events, and the whole of the moſt correct deſign and highly finiſhed workmanſhip. The lower bas-reliefs have ſuffered by the ardent kiſſes of the multitudes of pilgrims, who are continually flocking to Loretto. At coming within ſight of the church, the pilgrims throw themſelves on their knees, and in this poſture perform the remainder of their journey. As the church ſhuts up at noon for all the day, they who come

(*a*) In it is likewiſe a very fine fountain; a work of Paul V, to whom Rome is indebted for its moſt ſtately embelliſhments of this kind, ſo that he has been nick-named *Fontifex Maximus*.

later

later pay their obeiſance to the doors. The lowermoſt panel of one of the leaves, and which exactly anſwers to the reach of the people on their knees, repreſents the murder of Abel, who lies ſtretched out quite naked, with all the fore-part of his body expoſed in a projecture of two thirds. Now all this part, though of maſſy bronze, and of the ſame caſt as the door itſelf, is nearly effaced by the abovementioned devout oſculations (*a*).

The church forms a Latin croſs, with a vaſt nave, the collaterals of which are but narrow; yet their height nearly equals that of the nave. Theſe collaterals are as I may ſay wainſcotted by a contiguous row of chapels againſt the wall, from which they project irregularly. The architecture of theſe chapels is not uniform, but the marbles, paintings, and other ornaments are amazingly ſplendid and beautiful. Among the pictures is one of Barrocci's in the chapel of the dukes d' Urbino: it is a repetition of his fine Annunciation, which I had ſeen at Pezaro, with the addition of a ſtraw chair, and a huge cat ſleeping on it, all of a heap, without having been awakened by the coming of the Angel. The altar-piece of the parallel chapel is a Laſt Supper by

(*a*) The admirable Chriſt by Michael Angelo, in the Minerva church at Rome, has undergone the like fate, though of white marble. The leg moſt expoſed to theſe kiſſes, is in ſome meaſure preſerved by means of a buſkin over it. This is one of Michael Angelo's pieces, on which the Romans place the higheſt value; and to it indeed may be applied what Quintilian uſed to ſay of Phidias's Olympic Jupiter: *Ejus pulchritudo etiam adjeciſſe aliquid religioni videtur: adeò majeſtas operis Deum æquavit.*

Simon

Simon Vouet, and which for correctneſs of deſign, grandeur of compoſition, force of expreſſion, and luſtre of colouring, may vie with the fineſt pieces of Italy. Never did I ſee any thing in France of this maſter, where all theſe beauties are combined in ſo high a degree.

The left wing of the church is taken up with the confeſſionals of the penitentiary jeſuits; of which there is one for every nation, who, by a note on the confeſſional, are directed to that of their country. There the penitentiaries are on duty the whole morning, every one having at the door of his lodge a large black rod or ſtaff, with which they give a tap on the head of thoſe, who, having no mortal ſins on their conſciences, expiate the venial by this act of humiliation. In order to which they preſent themſelves on their knees, facing the firſt confeſſional. The French penitentiary, on ſeeing us, left his ſentinel box and came up to us; he told us, that though not a day paſſed without his having to do with French pilgrims, it only made him the more deſirous of good company. After walking us about for ſome time, he offered us his ſervi es in the moſt genteel manner, and indeed ſeemed to us more converſable and friendly than the Provençal prieſt. I afterwards ſaw at Rome a very pretty Provençal young woman, who was rambling alone all over Italy, in a pilgrim's dreſs. She could not ſufficiently praiſe this penitentiary, for his many civilities and good offices.

In the left wing is likewiſe the choir of the canons, appropriated to this church, which Sixtus V. raiſed to a biſhop's ſee, in lieu of Recanati.

canati. This choir and all its appurtenances make a glorious figure, with paintings by the moſt eminent hands.

Under the croſs is the *Santa-Caſa*, within a kind of tegument, which coſt above 50,000 golden crowns; and all the riches of ſculpture have been beſtowed, or rather heaped on it. Miſſon gives us the plan, the elevations and other particulars of it, with an accuracy which admits of no improvement. The ornaments of this ſingle ſmall piece would ſuffice for the ſumptuous decoration of a whole church. It was built from a deſign of Sanſovin, and not of Bramante, whoſe head ran ſo much on antiquity, that he would certainly have borrowed from it ſome fancy, like that which he took for guide in the little chapel in the convent of St. Pietro Montorio at Rome. Leo X. and afterwards Clement VII. employed on it, as in emulation, the beſt ſculptors of Florence, *Baccio Bandinelli*, whom father Turſelini called *Raphael Coutacii*, *Nicholas Tribolo*, *Raphael de Monte-Lupo*, and *Anthony de San-Gallo*. The bronze doors abovementioned are by the laſt. All theſe maſters, who were contemporaries, rivals or diſciples of Michael Angelo *(a)*, ſtriving to outdo

(a) They like him, to all the arts connected with deſign, added that of poetry, and a digeſted knowledge of the maſter-pieces of antiquity in every kind. Accordingly they were either acquainted or correſponded with all the fine geniuſes of the *Cinque-cento*. In Annibal Caro's letters, are ſeveral monuments of the correſpondence between him and thoſe artiſts. R. de Monte-Lupo having ſlipt into ſome indiſcretion towards him, he pleaſantly tells him: *quando avreſte fatto ogni grande errore in queſto genere di ceremonie, l'eſſer*

do each other in the execution of the ornaments, the Bas Reliefs, and the figures of the prophets and sybils have, in this grand work, erected a monument to the Florentine school, where the taste manifestly shews itself by the manner, which is rather learned than elegant, and lofty than agreeable.

Over the *Santa-Casa* is a cupola, which *tantùm se à templi fastigio attollit, quantum fastigium à terra**. This cupola was painted by Pomerancio, who in the calotte has represented the triumph of the virgin, and in the scutcheons the four evangelists. The lustre of that master's colours could not withstand the vapour of the light which is continually burning in the *Santa-Casa*; so that now the four evangelists are scarcely discernible.

The church was filled with crowds of pilgrims, who had flocked hither on account of the nativity, as Loretto's capital solemnity. One of their great acts of devotion is to go round the *Santa-Casa* on their knees, and to repeat these rounds according to their strength or devotion. This odd pilgrimage is accompanied with beating the breast, sobbing, sighing, and weeping, all which the Italians have at command. Sometimes little squabbles happen about precedency, every one striving to be closest to the *Santa-Casa*. Of the ceremonial in this point I am totally ignorant; but I know that the floor on which they thus drag themselves, wears away so fast by the

l'esser voi Scultore porta seco un privilegio che vi rende salvo da ogni stravaganza. Had you committed ever so great a mistake in ceremonies of this kind, your being a sculptor authorises you in extravagancies.

* Tursel. l. 2. c. 14.

con-

continual friction of the knees and feet, that every fifteen years it muſt be new paved.

As to the inſide of the *Santa-Caſa*, I ſhall not be very particular; you are dazzled by the luſtre of the gold and jewels glittering all over it, you are ſtifled by the ſmoak of ſeveral lights which are continually burning in it, and you are ſqueezed to death by the crowd preſſing for a view of a place they hold ſo ſacred. The only thing I could ſee with any clearneſs was the *Santa-Scudella*, which is no more than a common earthen porringer broke in many places, and covered only with an enamel, of black ſhade; but it is ſtrongly cemented in a veſſel, the cup and foot of which are of a richneſs beyond imagination. Every pilgrim is ſure to trail about his chaplet in this porringer; likewiſe water is poured into it, for ſick perſons requeſting ſuch a favour.

I ſhall obſerve the ſame brevity with regard to the treaſury.---The enormous quantity of ornaments, of veſſels, reliquaries, pearls, and jewels, tire the ſight without ſatisfying it; but it fixes itſelf with a calm complacency on a Holy Family by Raphael, one of that great maſter's moſt pleaſing pieces, and on a Nativity of the Virgin by Annabal Carraccio, removed thither from the church where it adorned one of the chapels. Here is alſo the celebrated Lipſius's pen who conſecrated it to our lady of Loretto; and this example has been followed by ſeveral bad poets, whoſe pens are faſtened to acroſtics, but ſuch as give no exalted idea of the offering. Among all this traſh, is a very devout piece by the famous Mark Anthony Muret, concluding with theſe verſes, which

are

are proceeded by a particular account of miracles performed by our lady of Loretto, in behalf of the ſick, and perſons in danger ſhipwrecked.

O ego nunc morbis multò gravioribus æger,
Naufragiumque timens longè exitioſius illo,
Et jampridem animum peccati compede vinctus,
Si poſſim, morbis liber, vincliſque ſolutus,
Fluctibus & ventis laceram ſubducere puppim,
Quas tibi lætus agam grates dum vita manebit!
Te cum luce novâ ſparget Sol aureus orbem,
Te recinam quoties abſcondet opaca diem nox;
Et tua præcipuo venerabor numina cultu.

The treaſury where all theſe aſtoniſhing riches are lodged, is an oblong hall; the proportions, the workmanſhip of the cloſets all along its ſides, and the correſponding compartments of the roof and pavement are exquiſitely beautiful. Theſe riches, however dazzling to the ſpectator, are far ſhort of what our lady of Loretto is poſſeſſed of in lands, ſecurities, bonds and money. The money muſt, by this time, exceed all computation, ſince, according to father Turſelini, ſo long ago as before Leo X. *dena, duodena, quaterdena, ſenadena, uſque ad vicena aureorum millia in arcam quotannis ingeruntur.* Mr. Addiſon ſeems ſurpriſed that ſuch a treaſure has not tempted the avidity of the Turks and pyrates. Had he read father Turſelini, he would there have ſeen the little ſucceſs ſeveral attempts of that kind met with, and how they who had not pilfered any pieces of the treaſury, but only picked bits of ſtones from the *Santa-Caſa*, have by a ſeries of misfor-

tunes, which they looked upon as a divine judgment, been obliged to reſtore them to their place. Concerning this, the father produces a letter of John Suares, archbiſhop of Coimbra, who conſtrued ſome remarkable evil which befel him as a divine puniſhment, and in conſequence ſent back to Loretto a ſtone, which he had thus detached from that ſacred building, and was not able to keep, though he procured the pope himſelf to relieve him from the excommunication pronounced *ipſo facto* againſt ſuch ſacrileges.

If the ſame father Turſelini may be credited, the popes and their nephews have never put their hands into this treaſury, except only in two exigencies, when totally deſtitute of all other reſources: Leo X. when preſſed by the duke of Urbino's troops, took ſix thouſand golden crowns, but reſtored them within the year; and Clement VII. when pent up in the caſtle of St. Angelo, by the conſtable of Bourbon's army, made free with half that ſum, but returned it with the like punctuality.

All relations mention the galli-pots of the laboratory on account of the paintings on them, from deſigns of Raphael. Annibal Caro's letters have let me into the true hiſtory of theſe veſſels, which had originally belonged to the houſe of Urbino. In a letter of the 15th of January 1563, Caro ſays to the ducheſs of Urbino *(Victoria Farneſe) Con queſta occaſione che mi ramenta della Pittura, voglio ſupplicare V. E. à farmi un favore molto deſiderato, e à lei molto facile. Il ſignor Duca ſuo conſorte, fece fare quì molti diſegni di varie ſcriette per dipingere una credenza di majolica in Urbino,*

bino, la quale è ſtata finita, e gli diſegni ſono reſtati in mano di quei Maeſtri, i quali ordinariamente non gli hanno ad avere. Se V. E. ſi voleſſe degnare di ricuperargli da loro, con monſtrare di voler ſervirſene eſſa, farebbe à me una grazia ſingolare e un gran beneficio al Pittor che gli fece qui. *Al quale ſi dovrebbono reſtituire, poi che ſenza chiederne premio, v'a così volontieri durata fatica. E di queſta grazia la prego quanto più poſſo.*

'I take this opportunity, as reminding me of painting, moſt humbly to beg a favour of your highneſs, which is extremely wanted, and which you can very eaſily do. The duke, your ſpouſe, ordered here a great number of hiſtorical deſigns for painting a ſet of very fine porcelaine utenſils at Urbino; which has been done, and the deſigns were left in the hands of thoſe artiſts, who uſually are not intitled to have them. If your highneſs would be pleaſed to order thoſe maſters to deliver up the deſigns, as if you intended to make uſe of them, it would be a particular favour to me, and a very great benefit to the painter who did them here. To him they ought to be reſtored, as having gone through the trouble without aſking any recompence, and it is a favour for which I moſt earneſtly intreat your highneſs.'

If this paſſage does not inform us preciſely who the author of theſe deſigns was, it gives us to underſtand that he was a maſter of the Roman ſchool, living in 1563, and one for whom Caro had no ſmall friendſhip. It might be the celebrated Tadeo Zuccari, who, at that time, was painting the palace of Caprarola for cardinal Far-

neſe, from plans which Caro had very particularly laid down to him in a large letter of the 2d of November, in the foregoing year. And in a letter of the 20th of October, the following year, Caro recommends this maſter to prince Orſino, as the beſt hand he knew for a grand piece of painting, which that prince intended for his ſeat at Bomarzo.

The church of Loretto is both the cathedral and parochial church of the whole city. One of the mornings which we ſpent in viewing it, the corpſe of an old ſervant maid who had belonged to one of the canons, was expoſed to public view, the face uncovered, and children all about it driving away the flies from the face and feet, which were alſo uncovered. Were the intereſt and conveniency of the prieſts leſs connected with the cuſtom of burying the dead in churches, it is from ſuch a church as this, which has ſo many claims to their reſpect, that corpſes ſhould eſpecially be excluded.

The trade of Loretto is the ſame as that of all the towns to which pilgrims reſort, a large conſumption of proviſions, and a ſale of Madonnas, chaplets, medals, *&c.* that is to ſay, the very trade of thoſe men who ſtirred up the city of Epheſus againſt St. Paul and Barnabas. I ſaw whole ſhops of chaplets and roſaries of various ſorts and various prices, ſome of agate, ſome of lapis Lazuli and other gems ſet in gold, which, as I was told, would not be ſold under twenty, thirty, and even fifty ſequins. This I the more readily belived, as I had not peremptorily declared myſelf a buyer, and indeed my whole purchaſe amounted only to a medal

a medal of four Bajocos *(a)*. I ſhall conclude this article with juſt mentioning, that ſoon after the tegument of the *Santa Caſa* had been finiſhed, the cupola ſplit, but was ſecured by the architect San-Gallo. A detail of his proceſs in this very ingenious repair may be ſeen in the ſixth chapter of the third book of father Turſelini's hiſtory of Loretto.

MACERATA.

The whole country along this road is fertile and delightful, but very indifferently cultivated, though in the neighbourhood of Loretto. It is, farther, interſected by rivers and brooks iſſuing from the Appenine, which lies all the way on the right; and by arms of the Appenine, inclining towards the ſea, of which one ſcarce ever loſes ſight. If the vallies be alluvions gradually formed by the flow of the rivers which water them, it is more than the people know, having no tradition of any ſuch thing.

Three miles from Loretto one paſſes through Recanati, which may be ſaid to be removed to Loretto, all its inhabitants being now only ſome ſeafaring men, on account of its harbour, though but a ſorry one, and huſbandmen, who are nearer to the lands under their care, than at Loretto.

This town was built out of the Rudera of *Recina*, a colony founded by Pertinax, but deſtroyed by the Goths, and the ruins of which we paſſed cloſe by. Two leagues farther, among theſe

(a) A Bajoco, ſomething leſs than a penny.

ruins, are ſtill diſtinguiſhed the remains of an amphitheatre; for after the erection of the empire, ſhews were the capital deſiderata for that claſs of people, of whom colonies were formed: the amphitheatre was the firſt building which the coloniſts concerned themſelves about, and the ſtrongeſt inducement to their ſettling in the place of their tranſmigration.

Macerata is but a league from theſe ruins. It is the capital of the marquiſate of Ancona, a biſhop's ſee, and the reſidence of the governor or legate of the province, of his chancery, and of a *Rota* or kind of ſupreme tribunal. At firſt this town ſeemed to us the more populous, as coming nearly at the end of a horſe-race, that is one of the greateſt diverſions, and the only ſight now remaining in moſt of the cities in Italy. Accordingly it had drawn all the nobility of the city and neighbourhood to the legate's palace, ſo that we ſtill ſaw at the windows part of this good company, and at the chief balcony the *Palio* or prize, which was a piece of luſtring left fluttering in the air. We might have ſhared in the remainder of the diverſion, but rather than diſorder our portmanteaus to dreſs, we choſe to mix with the crowd of all ranks, which filled the ſtreets, ſwarms of prieſts and monks among the reſt, and one and all making for the market-place to ſee the Merry-Andrews; we, travellers like, followed them.

One of theſe buffoons ſold little Madonnas incloſed within glaſs, and the better to put off his goods, told a thouſand tales about the wonderful protection of his Madonna, who was not that of Loretto. For interlocutor he had a monkey, who acted

acted the part of all the unfortunate persons whom the master laid in wait for, and robbed and murdered in his relations. For all these buffoons, agreeably to the poltroon notions of the people by whom they live, make all the roads in Italy to be full of robbers and ambushes. To these deplorable narratives he added that of a man, who would by no means forgive one of his neighbours for murdering his father. All the maxims on the forgiveness of enemies were set forth: the monkey being questioned concerning the weight of these maxims, used to answer with a grimace, and the whole guilt was laid on him who was for revenging his father. At length the holy Virgin compromised the affair by a miracle, which has slipt my remembrance. But I very well remember that these tales were mixed with frequent elogiums of the priests and monks, their zeal for the salvation of souls, their austerity towards themselves, their condescension to the weaknesses of others, their labours for their neighbour's good, their earnestness in converting sinners, reconciling enemies, and maintaining public tranquility and domestic peace: these elogiums often serve for vehicles to the many impertinencies and absurdities relating to morality and religion, which these buffoons take on themselves to utter, *utraque poscit opem res & conjurat amice.*

The marquisate of Ancona runs along the seashore as far as the Tronto, a river of Abbruzzo. Tolentino is still a part of it. The *Via Flaminia*, on leaving this town, enters among the Appennine mountains, and leads to that part of the ancient Umbria, which at present makes the duchy

of Spoletto. All this country is a ſucceſſion of plains and vallies watered with little rivers, and if all theſe vallies be like that of Foligni, they are ſo many terreſtrial paradiſes.

Eſt ubi plus tepeant hyemes! ubi gratior aura
Leniat & rabiem Canis & momenta Leonis,
Cùm ſemel accepit Solem furibundus acutum!

We were then nearly in that ſeaſon, and found in the plain of Foligni that ſo pleaſing temperature for which Horace celebrates it. The backs of the hills by which we came into it, are covered with olive-trees, whoſe age proclaims the excellence of the climate. I never ſaw trees of this kind in any country of ſuch an age, and at the ſame time ſo vigorous; the greater part of them are ſhoots from very old ſtems, and which, adhering to the primordial root, arebecome new trees.

FOLIGNI.

In the midſt of this delicious plain ſtands Foligni, where we met with ſubſtantial traders, laborious artificers, and huſbandmen, from whoſe underſtanding and induſtry all other parts of Italy ſhould take example. Induſtry here has indeed many incentives, the fertility of the ſoil, immenſe paſtures for graſing, conſiderable paper manufactures, and a fair of great buſineſs. In the times of the antient Romans, the *grandes Victimæ*, were the

the product of the meadows watered by the Clitumnus:

Hic albi Clitumne, *greges & maxima Taurus*
Victima, sæpè tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
Romanos ad templa Deûm duxere triumphos.

Virgil. Georg. II.

Læta sed ostendens Clitumni *pascua sanguis*
Iret, & á grandi cervix ferienda Ministro.

Juven. Sat. XII.

This river which runs in the valley of Foligni seems indeed to carry along with it a chalky sediment, as does the Chiento which we had skirted when in the Marche; it is on the latter that the most considerable paper manufactures are carried on, yet is this paper very beautiful and smooth, and the least apt to tear of any.

The cathedral of Foligni is a Gothic building, a style which for a very long time we had lost sight of. In a large closet, on the right of the sanctuary, stands in silver, and rather bigger than life, the statue of St. Felician, one of the first bishops, and patron of the diocese. This statue, which represents the bishop sitting, is a fine performance of le Gros, a French sculptor, who from trade jealousies settled at Rome, where he died in 1719. The sight of this monument of the piety and good taste of the Folignians, we owed to the officious civility of a young chorister. He afterwards led us to the monastery, famous for that fine painting of Raphael, of which all accounts speak so highly. This officiousness

ficiouſneſs was no novelty to us, but his refuſing the *buona mancia* which we forced on him was new, and, indeed, unprecedented; ſo little affinity is there between the climate of Foligni, and that of all Italy beſides. May not this ſingular diſintereſtedneſs be the effect of a ſpirit of induſtry, no beggary of any kind being ſeen in Foligni?

Among ſeveral ſacred corpſes which this cathedral is poſſeſſed of, we ſaw that of a female ſaint, who came from Rome; but the name given her does not promiſe much ſanctity, ſhe is called *Meſſalina*. We might likewiſe have ſeen that of the beatified Angela, a Franciſcan nun, whom the cordeliers keep in fleſh and bones. Such corpſes are very common in this part of Italy from Bologna: but our curioſity had more than enough in the ſight of the beatified Catharine of Bologna. All theſe beatas, thus preſerved, are almoſt all of the Franciſcan or Dominican order, and lived at the time when the mendicant orders were at the head of the regular clergy.

Theſe incorruptible bodies put me in mind of thoſe which I have ſince ſeen in the porch of St. Nicholas's church at Toulouſe. Theſe laſt, which are very well preſerved, ſtand on the edge of a lofty cornice within the porch. The ſkin of the cheeks being ſhrivelled in the drying, lays open their teeth, ſo that they make a grimace not unlike that of laughter. Concerning theſe corpſes and their grimace, I was told at Toulouſe that M. de Maupertuis, who had on him at that time the diſeaſe of which he died, was very ſeriouſly viewing them; but the ſolitary reflections to which ſuch objects gave riſe, were interrupted by a peaſant, who,

who, pulling him by the arm, asked him if it was not he who made the Paris almanack, and he could not tell him what those dead folks were laughing at? laughing, friend! why, they are laughing at the living, answered M. Maupertuis with a lugubrious accent. The beatified in Italy having been prepared more skilfully than those laughers of Toulouse, their cheeks have nothing of that grin which gave occasion to the peasant's question.

At Foligni we saw instances of the zeal of the Italian parish-priests, for the strict execution of the canons of the council of Lateran, *omnis utriusque sexûs*. On the last sunday of Easter fortnight, they give notice that on the revisal of the tickets issued out to communicants, and of which they keep duplicates, they with great grief find that all their parishoners have not communicated, and exhort those who have failed to discharge that duty. These exhortations are repeated four or five sundays following in a monitory form, and with threats of excommunication. They who still continue in the fault are excommunicated, but without naming them; afterwards they are excommunicated by name; at last, the excommunication is set up at the church doors. On the door of the chief parish-church was a placard of this kind, with the names of twenty excommunicated persons, their surnames, age, and place of abode. Four or five had got the excommunication taken off since the placard had been set up, and their names were crossed, yet still plainly legible. It is not excommunication itself which the Italians fear so much, as the temporal evils attending it.

Many

Many dreadful events of this kind have I been told, particularly of one excommunicated perſon, ſtabbed by his own wife whilſt aſleep in bed with her. It is only in ſmall places that theſe excommunications are practiſed. In great towns, Rome for inſtance, as parochial duties may be performed in the chapels of monaſteries, the prieſt has no direct authority over the pariſhioners, but for baptiſm and the laſt ſacraments; and it is only in theſe that the pariſhoners ſtand in need of the prieſt's miniſtry, who, accordingly, is nicknamed, *il Fachino dell Oglio Santo*, the holy oil carrier.

At Foligni we were informed, but too late, that in the village of Palo, from whence, in coming from Loretto, we had the firſt ſight of Foligni, is to be ſeen a natural grotto in the very ſide of the mountain on which that village ſtands; that this grotto, though of a vaſt extent, is full of congelations and *Luſus naturæ*, and that all foreigners, after ſeeing moſt wonders of this kind, have expreſſed great admiration of it.

* We were then in the height of the *Intemperie*, that is, of that ſeaſon, when the Romans both in town and country neglect no precaution againſt the dog-days, which, in the verſes abovementioned, Horace calls,

Rabiem Canis & momenta Leonis,
Cùm ſemel accepit Solem furibundus acutum.

Theſe precautions are to make choice of a ſettled dwelling either in town or country, lying

* Beginning of September.

always

always in the same room and in the same bed, and without so much as changing its position; keeping within doors and well covered both at the rising and setting of the sun; avoiding bodily fatigues, and no less free from all intenseness and vexation of mind, and using a moist diet: they who happen to be coming to Rome in this dangerous season, are not to sleep on the road, nor expose themselves to the air but gradually; lastly, all, without exception, are to eat as little as possibly towards night. Foreigners, and especially the French, will not subject themselves to these precautions, looking on them as so many superstitious shackles: so thought a young abbé who had reached Rome before the bishop of Laon, under whom he had been appointed as secretary of the embassy: imagining he might live at Rome as they do in autumn about Paris, he visited the cardinals and Roman princes at their estates, rambled from seat to seat, every day a new lodging and bed, thus bidding defiance to the *Intemperie*; and from his vivacity and health proving how weak and groundless their apprehensions were: but short was this triumph, a fever of the most fatal kind carried off this rash abbé, which confirmed the Romans in their prejudice, though they tell a thousand such instances.

These effects of the dog-days on the air are felt more or less in all parts of Italy lying north of Rome. At Venice they are extremely troublesome, when the *Sirocco*, or south wind drives thither the exhalations of the campagna of Rome. This *Sirocco* disables the arms and legs, stupifies

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the head, and brings on the whole body an uneaſineſs, like that of a fever. At firſt we could hardly keep our countenances at the condition of the Venetians, fixed like images in their great chairs; and on our aſking what ailed them, ſcarce able to lift up their eyes to heaven to anſwer *Sirocco!* but we ſoon came to know by ourſelves what to think of this condition, which is preciſely what is called being foundered. Our cuſtom of bathing early in the morning in the ſea was of ſome efficacy againſt it.

At Rome, and all over the adjacent level country, the *Intemperie* ſets in about the middle of July and laſts till the rainy ſeaſon, which, ſometimes, is not before the middle of October. In this ſultry interval the ſky is continually braſs, and all the water which the earth gets, is from dews and tempeſts, the former very copious, the latter rare; but ſtupendous both in the burſts of thunder and the torrents of rain. During this drought the air of Rome, under a moſt ſerene ſky, is loaded with ruſſet, inflamed and fetid exhalations, according to the intenſeneſs of heat. In the excurſions which I uſed to make about Rome early in the morning, I could follow the progreſs of theſe exhalations, which condenſe and aſcend with the ſun. I I never obſerved them more diſtinctly than in a walk I took to S. John Lateran in the morning of an extremely hot day. At Conſtantine's baptiſtery, they were as viſible in the rays of the ſun, which came in through the ſouth door, as the duſt raiſed by a broom in a chamber which had not been ſwept for ſome time. As to the ſmell, it was that of a moſt ſubtile alkali. Is it

then

then any thing ſtrange that bodies ſhould be affected by effluvia of ſuch a nature?

Some phyſicians have laboured to find out the cauſes of this *Intemperie*, and the moſt proper remedies for reſtoring the ſalubrity of the air. In the ſupplement to the Roman antiquities, I have peruſed ſome treatiſes on thoſe heads, which had been inſerted by Salengre. I have read that of Doni *de reſtituendâ ſalubritate agri Romani*, printed at Florence in 1667, together with that of Lanciſi printed at Rome 1711; but not one thing did they tell me, which is not in every body's mouth: all impute to one particular cauſe, what unqueſtionably is owing to the concurrence of the ſeveral following.

1. The Pomptini or Pomtini fens, which may be called the ſouth-gate to the campagna, were noted for their dangerous exhalations, even in the republican times. The conſul Cethegus, and after him ſeveral emperors, ſet about draining them, and to them the commentators applied theſe lines of Horace.

Sterilis dudùm palus, aptaque remis,
Vicinas urbes alit, & grave ſentit aratrum.

Yet fifty or ſixty years after Auguſtus, Silius Italicus called the country bordering on them, *Peſtiferos Pontinâ uligine campos*. They had, doubtleſs, been again put into heart under the following emperors, who accordingly had cauſed them to be regiſtered in the terrier of taxed lands. The declination of the empire having reduced them to their former

former condition, *Honorius*, by a law of the firſt year of his reign, directed to the *prefectus prætorio* for Italy, diſcharged from all taxes and impoſitions 528042 acres, become unfit for tillage I ſhall inſert this law, which has not hitherto been applied to its real object, and which commentators and all the hiſtorians of the empire quote as a proof of Honorius's munificence and attention to the relief of his people,

52080842 *jugera quæ Campania Provincia, juxtà Inſpectorum relationem, & veterum monumenta Chartarum, in deſertis & ſqualidis locis habere dignoſcitur, iiſdem Provincialibus conceſſimus, & Chartas ſuperfluæ deſcriptionis cremari cenſemus.*

Theodoric, one of the moſt liberal princes that ever ſat on a throne, reſtored, by means of immenſe works, their equilibrium with the ſea. Some popes have formed projects to this purpoſe, and even endeavoured to carry them into execution, but their works have ſcarce outlived them. The ſettling a numerous population along theſe marches would be the only remedy againſt their noxious effects, as we may ſuppoſe they were not much felt in thoſe early times, when, as Pliny aſſerts on the authority of ancient memoirs, theſe fens had on their banks no leſs than thirty ſubſtantial country towns. It was in alluſion to the exhalations which they ſpread through the campagna of Rome, that a poet gave the epithet of *plumbeus* to the ſouth wind: *Plumbeus Auſter*. Under a leſs parching ſky, what would the country of Holland be at preſent, were it reduced to ſome ſcattered villages on the downs, a ſituation juſt ſufficient to be a barrier againſt inundations?

2dly,

2dly, The compagna of Rome would be leſs expoſed to theſe exhalations, were the fens, from whence they ariſe, maſked by ſome foreſt intercepting theſe exhalations. There are indeed woods between Veletri and theſe fens; but theſe woods are all of lofty trees ill kept, and the far greater part hewn down as low as the waiſt. Beſides they are either corks or elms, too knotty and at too great diſtance from one another, to arreſt or obſtruct the circulation of the air. Not that the ſoil will not admit trees of a better kind, but in an uninhabited country, and under a very weak government, it is only the danger of foreſts that is minded, as, if they were not kept thin, they would ſerve for lurking places and ſhelters to all kinds of robbers.

3dly, I have heard Romans lay the cauſe of the *Intemperie* on the vapours of Solfatara near Puzzolo, which the ſouth-eaſt wind drives full on the campagna, ever ſince Sixtus V. cauſed a foreſt to be cut down which intercepted them. They affirm, that whilſt that foreſt was ſtanding, the air of Rome was in the very heat of the dog-days clear from thoſe ſulphureous, aluminous, and vitriolic ſpirits with which it is at preſent infected. Sixtus V. demoliſhed that foreſt on the very ſame account, which has thinned the woods between the Veletri and the Pontini marſhes.

4thly, Others lay the blame on the cuſtom of the farmers in the levels, of ſetting fire to the ſtubble immediately after the corn is off the ground: the end of which is to deſtroy the vermin, and to manure the ground with the aſhes, of which there is the greater plenty, as the

ſtems, beſides being very cloſe and ſtrong, are not cut lower than the waiſt, for the ſame reaſon as the wood fellers have in not cutting the trees lower, that is, to ſave the workman's labour.

5thly, The plain which the compagna of Rome now occupies, was formerly covered with ſeats, where art concentered all the beauties and delights of which gardens are ſuſceptible. Theſe manſions, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Villæ Suburbanæ *, were the more ſplendid and enchanting, as the Romans on every interval of leiſure haſtened to enjoy themſelves in theſe receſſes. In ſo parching a climate, water being a capital article of ornament and delight, its courſe from the mountains was ſoon diſtributed ſo as to fill lakes and ſupply canals, fiſh-ponds and baths. This magnificent tract being afterwards reduced to a deſart, the water ſtill follows many of the deſcents which had been contrived for it, and thus ſpreading itſelf over the country without its former receptacles, or any conſtant iſſue, it ſtagnates amidſt the inequalities of the ground, and certainly theſe ſtagnations may very much contribute to the canicular peſtilences.

But to all theſe there is a primary cauſe, as ſeed and germ of them, and this is the total depopulation of this fine country. Reſtore to it but a part of the men which formerly ſwarmed here, and the waters will ſoon have conſtant iſſues; other manures than ſtubble aſhes will be found out; the woods will be kept and felled to the proprietor's greateſt advantage; and thus they will be impenetrable barriers againſt the vapours;

* See Cicero, Pliny, Strabo, &c.

and

and laſtly the Pontine fens, theſe *peſtiferi Pontinâ uligine campi*, will by cultivation become an inexhauſtible ſource of various products and opulency.

In a word, this fine country is unhealthy becauſe diſpeopled, and bare of people becauſe unhealthy: in nature, as in morality, the ſame things are often ſeen to be reciprocally both cauſe and effect; what in ſome repects is cauſe or principle, becoming effect or conſequence in others. The relations between depopulation and the *Intemperie* evince, that the only remedy for the latter muſt be population; that whatever other remedies may be taken in hand, they are all inſufficient and of no effect: in a word, that this capital remedy includes every other.

Such is the preſent condition of that Latium which Virgil addreſſed in theſe beautiful verſes

Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virûm, &c *.

Of theſe appellations the only one now applicable to it is the epithet of *Saturnia*, and this on account of its decrepit appearance and the ſovereign's perpetual ſenility. Of theſe fertile tracts, ſuch only are now cultivated, which belong to wealthy communities, or to noblemen who are able to have lands, lying at a diſtance from all dwellings, kept in good condition. Thus cultivation here is ſupported by large poſſeſſions, that is, by the very cauſe, which, in other climates, and other governments, proves its deſtruction. This want of huſbandmen living on the ſpot, or

* Georg. lib. 2.

annexed to the glebe, is ſupplied by the deſcendants of the ancient Sabines, who come down in bodies from the mountains, and give the grounds that very ſuperficial tillage, which yet is ſufficient to make them produce in the moſt copious fertility. I have ſeen theſe peaſants *ſabellis ligonibus verſare glebas*, drawn up in a row of twenty, forty, fifty perſons of both ſexes, and all ages; they take a field, either length or breadth wiſe, and advancing always in a parallel line, as it were, ſcratch the earth, keeping time, and diſmally chanting old ballads.

At Loretto getting rid of the devout Vetturino who had ſupplied us with horſes at Ferrara, we had taken others for Spoletto, which is nearly the place where the *Intemperie* begins to be felt. Here we ſpent ſome hours in bed, but at our riſing found our apartment infected with a ſmell much ſtronger and more acrid than that of any jakes. The cauſe we were told was the *Aria*, and, indeed, on opening the windows to breathe more freely, we found the air abroad quite anſwerable to the ſample which we had of it in our apartment.

We took poſt at Spoletto, and with tranſport ſaw the riſing ſun diffuſe its beams over the delicious plain which ſeparates Terni from Narni; two places, however, remarkable for nothing but for having given birth, the former to Tacitus the hiſtorian, and the latter to the emperor Nerva, to whom mankind owed fourſcore years of felicity.

Terni is the laſt town of the ancient Umbria, and now opens the renowned Latium, watered by the

the Tiber. Citta-Caſtellana, the firſt town one comes to, is commonly thought to be the ancient *Feſcennium*, from whence the Romans imported the *Feſcennine* verſes, a kind of burleſque ſtyle appropriated for particular pieces, the aim of which was only to pleaſe the mob. This opinion the learned Dominic Mazocchi attacks in a quarto which he publiſhed at Rome in 1646, where he proves Citta-Caſtellana to be the city of Veii, ſo famous in the firſt century of the Roman republic.

The ſight of this country might well corroborate the account which had been given us of the *Intemperie* and its diſmal effects. In all the places where we changed horſes, only ſome of the moſt reſolute men were remaining to attend the poſt buſineſs and a wretched inn; and theſe having the fever to a man, regulated their attendance according to the intervals of the fit. By the ſight of theſe wan, livid phantoms, who likewiſe were either emaciated or bloated, one would have little thought to have been in that ſweet country of Papamania, of whoſe happy inhabitants it is ſaid,

> Triumphant plenty with a cheerful grace
> Baſks in their eyes and ſparkles in their face.

The very fineſt tracts and the leaſt cultivated are along the five laſt leagues in the way to Rome; they have, indeed, in a great meaſure no other cultivation than from the waters, which, being left to themſelves, and ſpreading ſpontaneouſly into the receptacles formerly made by human labour, will

be an insurmountable obstruction to cultivation, till such beds be opened as are capable of containing them.

These tracts are strewed with ruins of the magnificence and luxury of the ancient Romans, so that the ground is, as it were, cut out by the variegated designs of gardens, of which the capital parts are still discernible, as large pieces of water, barrows, terrasses, and amphitheatres. With these ruins are intermixed those of buildings and temples, now reduced to hillocks and confused Rudera.

Amidst this waste and this pestilential air it is, that Rome lifts its towering head, the grandeur and majesty of which seems still to proclaim the queen of nations and the mistress of the universe. Answerable to this grandeur are its approaches, being formed by rows of palaces; in a word, the veiw it offers to those who enter it by the *Popolo* gate, compels the very French themselves to acknowledge the superiority of the Roman taste for machines and superb decorations.

It was the 5th of September about two o'clock in the afternoon, when we arrived at Rome. The hunger we brought with us, was not a little increased by the many ceremonies, which we were obliged to go through, before we could get a dinner. Four cooks to whom we successively applied, offered us their assistance, and followed us to a fifth, who was at last able to prepare a dinner for us. The four first assisted him in preparing it, waited upon us and put in their claims, over and above the price of the dinner, which was thereby doubled.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

PIECES RELATIVE TO THE ARTICLE OF VENICE.

1754, 7 *Settembre.*

IN PREGADI.

Alli Rettori, Principali della Terra Ferma, Capi di Provincia, e li Proveditori Generali di Mare, e di Dalmazia, ed Albania.

RESISI oramai troppo offervabili i molti, e varj abufi infenfibilmente introdottifi nel Dominio noftro dalla Sregolata libertà de' fudditi d' ogni grado e condizione, da quali vengono impetrate Bolle, Brevi, Refcritti, ed altre Carte di fuori, le quali non tutte, come prefcrivono tante pubbliche Leggi, fono affoggettate alla revifione, cofiché molte vengono efeguite

1754, *September* 7.

At the PREGADI-HALL.

To the governors, rulers of the continent, heads of provinces, and the purveyors general of the *fea, and of Dalmatia and Albania.*

AS it is notorious that many and various abufes have been infenfibly introduced into our dominions, by the licentioufnefs of our fubjects of every rank andcondition, by whom are obtained bulls, mandates, refcripts, and other papers from abroad, which are not all, as fo many public laws direct, fubjected

clandeſtinamente ſenza eſſere nel Collegio noſtro licenziate, con deluſione de' ſavj, e caritatevoli provedimenti emanati nel propoſito, con detrimento dell' Eccleſiaſtica Diſciplina, delle ben'introdotte conſuetudini; e con turbazione della tranquillità pubblica, è venuto in deliberazione il Senato di andar'incontro vigoroſamente, a tanti diſordini, e di rinuovare e confermare tutte le antiche provide Leggi nel propoſito, e di fermamente ſtabilire, che non poſſa da chi ſi ſia ſotto qualunque preteſto eſſer' eſeguita alcuna Bolla, *Patente, Breve, Reſcritto, Citazione, Monitorio, o Carta generalmente di qualſivoglia natura, che venga di fuori, ſe prima non ſarà preſentata in Collegio per eſſer riveduta e Licenziata, in pena di nullità dell'eſecuzione, e di quel caſtigo, che meritaſſe la qualità del contrafattore, e la gravità della traſgreſſione. Dietro a queſta deliberazione v'incarica il Senato di doverla immediatamente far pubblicare in tutti i Luoghi ſoggetti alla*

to reviſal; many being clandeſtinely executed without licence from our college, in violation of the wiſe and ſalutary proviſions made upon the occaſion, to the prejudice of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, of cuſtoms wiſely introduced, and to the diſturbance of the public tranquility: the ſenate has therefore deliberated upon taking meaſures to make a vigorous oppoſition to ſo many diſorders, to renew and confirm all the ancient laws made upon the occaſion, and to eſtabliſh it as a law, that there ſhould not, under any pretext whatever, be executed any bull, patent, brief, reſcript, ſummons, mandate, or paper of any nature whatever, that comes from abroad, if it is not firſt preſented to the college to be reviſed and privileged, upon pain of nullity of execution, and ſuch puniſhment as is incurred by the quality of the perſon guilty of ſuch fraud, and the heinouſneſs of the crime. After this deliberation the ſenate charges you to cauſe it immediately to be made public in all places ſubject to your juriſdiction, that it may be

alla voſtra rappreſentanza a chiara intelligenza, a notizia d'ognuno, facendola pervenire alle rappreſentanze alla voſtra ſuperiorità ſubordinate, invigilando, che ſia in conformità puntualmente eſeguita, e ſpecialmente rendendola nota alle Curie Ordinarie Eccleſiaſtiche, ed agli Offiziali delle medeſime.

Ma perche con grave ſentimento dell' Animo del Senato ſi è inteſo eſſere, oltre quello della ſregolata eſecuzione di tali Carte, invalſi molti altri particolari diſordini nelle impetrazioni ſconſigliate, che quotidianamente ſi fanno delle medeſime; vi reſta commeſſo di dover'in conveniente forma far ſapere agli Ordinarj Eccleſiaſtici, che ſi trovano nei Luoghi della Giuriſdizione noſtra, eſſere riſoluta mente del Governo, che ſia poſto debito confine a tale abuſo.

E perciò eſſendoſi introdotto, che ad ogni Chieſa Campeſtre, Oratorio, overo *Altare, vengono impetrati* Brevi d'Indulgenze *e di Privilegj perpetui, o temporanei, ſenza oſſervarſi la debita diſcrezione, onde ſuccede,*

be clearly underſtood and generally known to every body, cauſing it to be ſent to the juriſdictions ſubordinate to yours, taking care that it be punctually executed, and, in particular, making it known to the common eccleſiaſtical courts, and to the officers belonging to the ſame.

But becauſe to the great grief of the ſenate information is received, that, beſides the licentious execution of ſuch papers, many other particular abuſes in the irregular obtaining of them have prevailed; it is therefore recommended to you to make it known in proper form to the eccleſiaſtical ordinaries belonging to the places ſubject to our juriſdiction, that it is the firm purpoſe of the government, that an end be immediately put to ſuch abuſe.

And therefore a cuſtom having been introduced, that in every country church, or at every altar, there are obtained briefs of indulgence and perpetual or temporary privileges, without proper precautions being obſerved; from whence it comes

ſuccede, che per il mal' uſo di queſte ſpirituali grazie, con fini d'intereſſe, di vanità, e tal volta peggiori *ſi diminuiſce piuttoſto, che ſi accreſca la divozione, e la riverenza de' Fedeli verſo le medeſime, affinchè ſi mantenga ne' ſudditi la ſtima a quelle dovuta, e la veneraziene, ſi è ſtabilito, che non ſaranno in avvenire licenziati ſimili brevi, o Privilegj, ſe all' impetrazione de' medeſimi non avrà precedúto una Legale Atteſtazione d'eſſi ordinarj, che tali Indulgenze, o Privilegj abbiano a ſervire di edificazione e profitto ſpirituale de' loro Dioceſani : nel rilaſciar le quali Atteſtazioni eccitarete ſeriamente in pubblico nome eſſi Ordinarj a non renderſi facili, ma ridur la coſa a termini di convenienza, i quali ſalvino gli oggetti di queſta publica deliberazione.*

Noto farete inoltre agli Ordinarj medeſimi, che quelle conceſſioni e Diſpenſe, che poſſono da eſſi rilaſciarſi

comes to paſs, that by the abuſe of theſe ſpiritual graces and the mixture of intereſted or vain ends, and ſometimes ends of a worſe nature, the devotion and reverence of the faithful towards them is rather diminiſhed than increaſed; that a due eſteem and veneration for the ſaid ſpiritual gifts may be maintained, it is ordained that no ſuch briefs or privileges ſhall for the future be permitted, if the obtaining of them has not been preceded by a legal atteſtation of the ſaid ordinaries, that ſuch indulgences and privileges are likely to tend to the edification and ſpiritual welfare of their dioceſans; and whilſt you permit ſuch atteſtations, you ſhall in the name of the public ſeriouſly exhort ſuch ordinaries not to be too indulgent in their grants, but to ſettle the affair on ſuch a footing as may anſwer all the purpoſes of this public deliberation.

You ſhall farther make it known to the ordinaries themſelves, that as *thoſe conceſſions and diſpenſations may be granted by them*

rilaſciarſi ai Dioceſani riſpettivi in forma del Jus proprio ordinario, delle Diſpoſizioni Canoniche, o di Privilegj, *non ſarà in avvenire licenziata alcuna Bolla, Breve, o Reſcritto, che veniſſe impetrato di fuori, tanto maggiormente che per lo più s'ottengono per le cauſe leggiere ſuppoſte, ſenza neceſſitá, o utilità della Chieſa in* deluſione delle Diſpoſizioni Canoniche della buona Diſciplina.

Saranno pertanto eſcluſi dal Licenziamento tutti quelli Brevi, che veniſſero in avvenire impetrati ſenza pubblica licenza da concederſi in caſi aſſai varj, per ordinazioni da farſi extra tempora, *non oſſervati* i debiti Interſtizj, e prima degli anni *ſtabiliti agli ordinandi da ſagri Canoni, eſſendo pur troppo preſentemente moltiplicato il numero de' Sacerdoti, ſenza che ſe ne promuovano d'età immatura, onde non mai edificazione, ma ſovente ſuccede ſcandalo ne' Popoli.*

Occorre ancora, che le Diſpenſe matrimoniali per lo più s'impetrano in Curia ſenza prima eſaminarſi la legitimità

them to the reſpective dioceſans in virtue of their peculiar ordinary juriſdiction, of canonical diſpoſitions and privileges, therefore no bull, brief, or reſcript obtained from abroad ſhall be licenced for the future; and the more, as they are, generally ſpeaking, obtained under trifling, or falſe pretences, without any neceſſity or advantage to the church, in violation of the canonical diſpoſitions of good diſcipline.

Therefore all thoſe briefs ſhall be excluded licence, that ſhall, for the future, be obtained without public licence, which is granted in various caſes, for ordinations made out of time, without the proper intervals being obſerved, and before the years appointed for ordination by the ſacred canons, the number of the prieſts being, at preſent, too much multiplied, without thoſe of unripe years being promoted, which is ſo far from edifying the people, that it often gives occaſion to the moſt flagrant ſcandals and abuſes.

It happens likewiſe, that matrimonial diſpenſations are, generally

legitimità de' motivi, e delle cauſe; onde la volgare idiota gente particolarmente, ſpeſſe volte doppo averle impetrate, ed aver perciò incontrati diſpendj graviſſimi alpovero ſuo ſtato, trova difficoltà nell' eſecuzione, che ad eſſi Ordinarj, o ai loro Officiali viene commeſſa, ed incontra oppoſizioni inſuperabili nella verificazione de' Fatti eſpoſti in Curia, con perdita luttuoſa delle ſpeſe inutilmente gettate, e con neceſſità d'incontrarne di nuove. Farete però noto ai medeſimi, che non ſarà da qui in poi licenziata alcuna Diſpenſa matrimoniale, *a cui prima, che venga impetrata, non ſia preceduta un' Atteſtazione legale del proprio ordinario d'eſſerſi ben' eſaminate, e verificate le cauſe impellenti alle impetrazioni, nel che pure eccitarete il loro zelo a preſtar' opera diligente, perchè non ſegua in ciò abuſo contrario alle Coſtituzioni della Chieſa, alle maſſime del Governo, o che poſſa riuſcir' in danno de' loro Dioceſani.*

Gl.

generally ſpeaking, obtained in court without the lawfulneſs of the motives, and cauſes being firſt examined; whence the vulgar, in particular, often after having obtained them, and been at an expence very hard to be borne by perſons in their narrow circumſtances, find great difficulties in the execution, which is committed to the ſaid ordinaries, or to their officers, and meet with inſurmountable oppoſition in the proof of facts laid before the court, with the unhappy loſs of the money thrown away to no purpoſe, and the neceſſity of being at new expences. You ſhall therefore make it known to the ſame, that henceforward no matrimonial diſpenſation ſhall be licenced, which has not, before being obtained, been firſt preceded by a legal atteſtation of the ordinary, that the motives were duly examined, which cauſed it to be applied for, in which you ſhall ſtir up their zeal to do their utmoſt, that there may not in this follow any abuſe contrary to the conſtitutions of the church, the maxims of government, or which may prove prejudicial to their dioceſans.

The

Gl. inconvenienti, che in qualunque luogo ſono occorſi circa la Riduzzione delle Meſſe, *le quali dipendono dalle Teſtamentarie diſpoſizioni de' ſudditi, hanno dato impulſo a deliberare relativamente alla legge* 1480, 22 *Decembre, che non paſſano nel Dominio noſtro impetrarſi, overo eſeguirſi Brevi, Reſcritti, o altre Carte in queſto propoſito, ſenza previa pubblica licenza, e ſenza l'aſcolto degli eredi, e di quelli, i quali nelle mediſime diſpoſizioni aver poteſſero in qualche forma titolo, overo intereſſe. Doverete però render nota agli ordinarj predetti queſta pubblica volontà. Ai Superiori de' Monaſterj, Caſe, Collegj, Conventi, o Congregazioni de' Religioſi farete intendere, che coll' oggetto di preſervare nelle Comunità loro Religioſe la quiete, e di levare il fomento alla vanità, al rilaſſamento della Diſciplina, come anche di preſervare l'oſſervanza delle Regole, colle quali i loro riſpettivi Iſtituti ſono ſtati ammeſſi ne' pubblici ſtati, ſi è deliberato, che non ſia*

The inconveniencies which may have happened in any place relative to reducing the number of maſſes, which depend upon the wills of the ſubjects of the republic, have given occaſion to reſolve with regard to the law of 1480, 22 December, that there ſhould not be obtained in our dominions. or executed briefs, reſcripts, or other papers to this effect, without previous public licence, and without the approbation of the heirs, and of thoſe who in theſe ſame diſpoſitions might in ſome form or other have a title or real intereſt. You are therefore to make known this public reſolution to the ſaid ordinaries. You ſhall likewiſe give the ſuperiors of monaſteries, houſes, colleges, convents, or religious congregations to underſtand, that in order to preſerve quiet in their religious communities, and to prevent the growth of vanity, the relaxation of diſcipline, and likewiſe to cauſe the rules to be obſerved with which their reſpective inſtitutes have been admitted in public ſtates, it is reſolved that henceforth no perſon belonging to a religious order ſhall

ſia lecito ſenza licenza noſtra a qualunque *Perſona religioſa d'impetrare a proprio talento Brevi, e Reſcritti di grazie, o di Privilegj, overo Commiſſioni, li quali facciano effetto* di diſpenſare overo di alterare le Coſtituzioni de' loro Iſtituti *ſummentovati, e che venendo forſe impetrati, oltre la debita correzione dovuta a chi contrafaceſſe, non ſaranno licenziati.*

La *licenziosità di molti ſudditi, che con modi ſpeſſo indiretti continua a procurarſi in Curia* Bolle di Rinunzie ad favorem ; o vero Coadjutorie *con futura ſucceſſione ne' proprj Benefizj, non oſtante, che tali abuſi ſieno deteſtati da ſacri Canoni, proibiti eſpreſſamente da Concilj, e contrarij alla pubblica mente, li quali poi anche tornano in detrimento del diritto degli ordinarj Collatori, in notabiliſſimo diſpendio delle private famiglie, ed in danno dello ſtato, per le gravi ſomme di denaro, che eſcono, hanno moſſa la carità del Senato a provedere, e decretare, che in avvenire non ſia lecito a qualſiſia Eccleſiaſtico del Dominio noſtro far' altre*

ſhall be ſuffered to obtain briefs, or reſcripts of favour, or privileges, or of commiſſions which may have the effect to diſpenſe with, or alter the conſtitutions of their inſtitutes; and that if they ſhould happen to obtain them, beſides the puniſhment incurred by him that tranſgreſſes, the briefs and reſcripts ſhall not be licenced.

The licentiouſneſs of many ſubjects, who often by indirect methods continue to procure in the Roman court bulls of renunciation, *ad favorem*; or coadjutorial bulls with future ſucceſſion to their benefices, notwithſtanding ſuch abuſes are deteſted by the ſacred canons, expreſsly prohibited by councils, contrary to the view of the public, and afterwards prove prejudicial to the rights of the ordinary collators, a great expence to private families and a loſs to the ſtate, by the great ſums of money of which it is drained; hath moved the charity of the ſenate to provide and decree that, for the future, it ſhall not be lawful for any churchman

altre rinunzie de' proprj Beneſizj poſti entro le pubbliche Dioceſi, che quelle preſcritte da Canoni della Chieſa, e da Concilj predetti; nè ſia permeſſo il far de' mediſimi nella Curia Romana rinunzia ad favorem, *overo impetrar Bolle di Coadjutorie con futura ſucceſſione ſotto qualunque preteſto, con pena a chi traſgrediſſe di conveniente correzione, ſecondo la qualità delle Perſone, e della contrafazione. Doverete pertanto render noto anche queſto provedimento agli ordinarj predetti, che ſe qualche particolar caſo meritaſſe eccezione, non ſia altrimente lecito di poter farſi, che prima s'abbia ottenuta* pubblica permiſſione, *da non eſſer preſa ſe non colle dovute riſtrettezze, previe le altre ſtabilite formalità, e inteſe ancora le atteſtazioni de' reſpettivi ordinarj.*

Sarà per fine cura della diligenza, e zelo voſtro di ritrarre dalle reſpettive Cancellarie Veſcovili, Abbaziali, Capitolari, e da qualunque altra Prelatura ordinaria

man of our dominions to make any renunciations of their own benefices within the public dioceſes, except thoſe preſcribed by the canons of the church, and by the ſaid councils; nor ſhall it be allowed to make of the ſame in the court of Rome a renunciation *ad favorem*, or to obtain coadjutorial bulls with future ſucceſſion under any pretext, upon pain of a due puniſhment to the tranſgreſſor, according to the quality of the perſons and the tranſgreſſion. You ſhall therefore farther make known this regulation to the ordinaries aforeſaid, to the end that if any particular caſe deſerves exception, it ſhall upon no account be made, till public permiſſion is firſt obtained, ſo that it ſhall not be admitted without the due reſtrictions, the cuſtomary formalities having preceded, and the atteſtations of the reſpective ordinaries having been heard.

Finally you ſhall with care, diligence, and zeal, take out of the reſpective biſhops courts, and courts of the abbeys, or any other eccleſiaſtical court whatſoever ſub-

ject

dinaria ſecolare, e Regolare ſoggetta alla voſtra rappreſentanza, note Giurate *nelle quali ſi contenga il Catalogo di tutte le Bolle, Brevi, e Reſcritti d' Indulgenze, Conceſſioni, Diſpenſe, Privilegj, Rinunzie, Coadjutorie, Penſioni, che dalle predette, e loro Offiziali foſſero per il corſo di queſto* ultimo Decennio *ſtate eſeguite, facendovi aggiungere la Taſſa delle ſpeſe occorſe, e ſolite pagarſi tanto nella Curia Romana, quanto nella propria di ciaſcun Ordinario, ed in quanto alle Penſioni, ſarà della voſtra attenzione il procurarvi la nota di tutti* li Benefizj, che ſinora foſſero ſtati ſoggetti a Penſione, *e di quelli, che non foſſero ſtati ſoggetti, con diſtinzione, ſpiegandoſi la quantità e qualità della Penſione medeſima, quali note dovrete indirizzare ſollecitamente a queſto Magiſtrato ſopra Monaſterj.*

Sarà merito della prudenza voſtra di contenervi nelle ordinatevi inſinuazioni agli ordinarj prefati con i medeſimi

ject to your juriſdiction, ſworn memorials, containing catalogues of all the bulls, briefs, reſcripts of indugences, conceſſions, diſpenſations, privileges, renunciations, coadjutorial bulls, penſions, which were by the aforeſaid ordinaries and their ſubſtitutes executed within the courſe of theſe laſt ten years, cauſing to be thereto adjoined an account of the expences which have occurred, and which were uſually paid, as well in the court of Rome as in the the particular court of each ordinary. And with regard to the penſions, you ſhall take care to procure a memorandum of all the benefices, which have hitherto been liable to pay penſions, and of thoſe which were never liable to pay them, ſetting forth in a diſtinct manner the quantity and quality of the penſion itſelf, which memorandums you muſt carefully direct to the magiſtrate who ſuperintends the religious houſes.

It will, at the ſame time, ſuit your prudence to inſert in your mandates, inſinuations to the ſaid ordinaries, with the

ſame

deſimi convenienti alla riſpettiva qualità de' medeſimi, facendoli ſingolarmente rilevare, che ſiccome queſti provedimenti tendono a mantenere nel ſuo decoro l'autorità, e diritti del loro grado; così confida il Senato, che dal zelo e pietà de' medeſimi verranno ſecondate le di lui religioſe intenzioni con tutta l'efficacia e fervore, che da loro meritamente s'attende.

ſame attention to, the reſpective qualities of each, obſerving to them in a particular manner, that as theſe proviſions tend to maintain in its luſtre the authority and rights of their dignity; ſo the ſenate is confident that their zeal and piety will ſecond its religious intentions with all the efficacy and fervour which may be juſtly expected from them.

IN PREGADI.

Che per un Segretario di queſto Conſiglio ſia mandato a leggere, e laſciato in Copia à M. Reverendiſ. Patriarca quanto ſegue.

1754. 7 *Settembre.*

MONSIGNORE Reverendiſ. Reſſi oramai troppo oſſervabili gli abuſi inſenſibilmente introdotti in molte parti del Dominio noſtro per una iregolata libertà

At the PREGADI-HALL.

Let the following be ſent by the ſecretary of this council to be read, and a copy of it left with his grace the patriarch.

1754, 7 *September.*

THE abuſes, my lord, being become notorious, which have been introduced in many parts of our dominions, through the licentiouſneſs of ſubjects of every degree and

libertà de' ſudditi d'ogni grado, e condizione, da quali ſi impetrano Bolle, Brevi, Reſcritti, ed altre Carte di fuori, e poſcia ſenza che vengano aſſoggettate alla reviſione, come preſcrivono le pubbliche legggi, reſtano talvolta eſeguite con deluſione di così ſaggi provedimenti tendenti a mantenere la buona Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica, le conſuetudini ben' introdotte, e la tranquillità dello ſtato; ſi è trovato in neceſſità il Senato di rinovare, e confermare tutte le antiche leggi nel propoſito, e di preſcriverne circolarmente l'inviolabile oſſervanza.

Sebbene il zelo, ed il filiale attaccamento, che è ſtato ſempre a cuore de' Predeceſſori di V. S. Illma, e diſtintamente quello, che ella conſerva verſo le coſe noſtre, e per l'oſſervanza de' Statuti Canonici non abbino laſciato, che tanti diſordini ſi avanzino in queſta ſua Dioceſi, non laſcia però queſto Conſiglio, di renderle cio noto, che ſi è trovato opportuno provedere in queſta materia,

condition, by whom are obtained bulls, briefs, reſcripts, and other papers from abroad, and afterwards, without their being ſubjected to a reviſal, as the public laws ordain; they are ſometimes executed in violation of theſe wiſe proviſions, which tend to maintain a good eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the cuſtoms that have been wiſely eſtabliſhed, and the tranquillity of the ſtate; the ſenate has found itſelf under a neceſſity to renew and confirm all the ancient laws made upon this account, and to enjoin the inviolable obſervation of them in all the countries round about.

Although the zeal and filial attachment which your grace's predeceſſors have always had at heart, and particularly that which you have for us and ours, and for the obſervance of eccleſiaſtical canons, hath not ſuffered ſo many diſorders to gain ground in this your dioceſe, this council notwithſtanding takes care to make known to you what meaſures it has found neceſſary to take upon this occaſion, being certain that your grace with your uſual piety and prudence will not

fail

materia, ben certo, che ella colla pietà, e prudenza ſua non laſcerà di uniformarſi, e di ordinare dal canto ſuo a' proprj miniſtri la puntuale eſecuzione.

Non dovrà pertanto eſſer' eſeguita alcuna Bolla, Breve, Reſcritto, Citazione, Monitorio, ò Carta generalmente di qualſifia natura, che venga di fuori, ſe prima non ſarà preſentata in Collegio per eſſer riveduta, e licenziata, in pena di nullità dell' eſecuzione, e di quel caſtigo, che meritaſse la qualità della contrafazione, e di chi contrafaceſſe.

Volendoſi poi mettere qualche conveniente confine all' abuſo invalſo d'impetrarſi ſconſigliatamente Brevi d'Indulgenze, e di Privilegi d'Altari perpetui, o a tempo, ſenza che ſia oſſervata la debita economia, e diſcrezione, onde ſuccede, che per il mal' uſo ſi diminuiſca piùtoſto, che ſi accreſca la divozione, e la riverenza de' Fedeli verſo queſte pregievoli ſpirituali grazie, ſarà della Paſtoral cura di V. S. Reverendiſ. di far ſapere ai Pievani, ed altri Superiori delle Chieſe, che

fail to take proper meaſures on your ſide, and direct your officers to put them punctually in execution.

Therefore no bull, brief, reſcript, citation, monitory, or paper of what nature ſoever, which comes from abroad, ſhall be executed till it is firſt preſented before the college to be reviſed and licenced, upon pain of the execution's being null and void, and of that puniſhment which is incurred by the quality of the tranſgreſſion and the tranſgreſſor.

It being therefore neceſſary to put ſome proper ſtop to the prevailing abuſe of obtaining improperly briefs of indulgence, or privileges of the altar, either perpetual or for a time, without due œconomy and caution being obſerved; whence it comes to paſs, that through this pernicious cuſtom, devotion is rather diminiſhed than increaſed, as likewiſe the reverence of the faithful for theſe valuable ſpiritual favours, it ſhall be the paſtoral care of your grace to make

che non ſaranno quindi in poi licenziati ſimili Brevi, ſe non avrà preceduto alla impetrazione de' medeſimi una legale atteſtazione della Patriarcal ſua Cancelleria, che abbino queſti a ſervire di edificazione, e profitto ſpirituale de' ſuoi Dioceſani. Nel rilaſciare le quali atteſtazioni, ben confida il Senato, che la di lei prudenza non ſarà per renderſi facile, ma ridurrà la coſa a termini di convenienza, i quali ſalvino i Religioſi oggetti, che ſi hanno in queſta deliberazione.

Per metter freno ancora alla licenzioſità delle impetrazioni, che ſpeſſo da ogni qualità indifferentemente di Perſone ſi fanno in Curia ſenza l'Economia preſcritta dalle leggi della Chieſa, e per lo più ſopra cauſe frivole, ed anche ſuppoſte ſenza neceſſità, overo utilità della Chieſa, onde derivano ſovente graviſſimi abuſi in deluſione delle preſcrizioni Canoniche, ed in rilaſſazione dell' Eccleſiaſtica Diſciplina, non ſarà licenziato in avvenire alcun Breve, Reſcritto, o altra Carta proveniente

it known to the rectors and other pariſh prieſts, that henceforward no ſuch briefs ſhall be licenced except the obtaining of the ſame be preceded by a legal atteſtation from the patriarch's office, that they are intended for the edification and ſpiritual advantage of his dioceſans. In allowing which atteſtations, the ſenate has good hopes that your grace will not be too indulgent, but will put the affair upon ſuch a footing as may ſecure the religious objects of this deliberation.

Farther to check this licentious obtaining of briefs, *&c.* which are often procured, at the court of Rome, by perſons of all qualities and denominations without the œconomy preſcribed by the laws of the church, and, generally ſpeaking, for frivolous cauſes, and even ſuch as are ſuppoſed without neceſſity or any advantage to the church, from whence there often ſpring grievous abuſes, to the violation of the canonical preſcriptions, and in relaxation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; for the future licence ſhall not be granted to

any

vient di fuori, che contenga dispensazioni, o concessioni di cose, le quali concedersi possano dalla di lei autorità a forza del Jus suo ordinario, della disposizione de Canoni, o di Privilegj.

Saranno però esclusi dal licenziamento quei Brevi, che venissero impetrati per ordinazioni da farsi extra tempora, non osservati i debiti interstizi, e prima degli anni stabiliti agli ordinandi da sagri Canoni, essendo presentemente pur troppo moltiplicato il numero de' Sacerdoti, senza che sene promuovano di età immatura, onde non mai edificazione, ma sovente succede scandalo a' Popoli.

Occorre ancora che le dispense Matrimoniali della volgare idiota gente singolarmente s'impetrano in Curia senza prima esaminarsi la legitimità de' motivi, e delle cause per le quali si possono ottenere, onde spesse volte dopo aver per ciò incontrati dispendj gravissimi al povero loro stato, trovano difficolta nell' esecuzione commessa

any brief, rescript, or other paper which comes from abroad, containing dispensations or concessions of things which may be granted by your grace's authority in virtue of your ordinary jurisdiction, the disposition of the canons or of privileges.

Those briefs shall likewise be excluded from licence that are obtained for ordinations to be conferred *extra tempora*, without observing the due intervals, and before the years appointed by the sacred canons, the number of priests being already multiplied too far, without those of unripe years being promoted, whence, instead of edification, there often arises scandal to the people.

Add to this, that the marriage dispensations of the low vulgar are obtained of the court of Rome in an extraordinary manner, without any previous inquiry being made into the lawfulness of the motives, and of the causes for which they may be obtained; whence it often happens that after having upon this account been at an expence, and almost

meſſa agli Officiali delle Curie ordinarie, ed oppoſizioni inſuperabili, perche non ſi verificano le cauſe eſpoſte, con perdita luttuoſa del denaro per ciò ſpeſo, e con neceſſità d'incontrare nuovi diſpendj. Non ſarà perciò licenziata alcuna di tali Matrimoniali Diſpenſe, a cui, prima che venga impetrata, non ſia preceduta una legale atteſtazione della di lei Curia d' eſſerſi ben' eſaminate, e verificate coi metodi, e riguardi ſoliti oſſervarſi ne' reſpettivi caſi al tempo dell' eſecuzione le cauſe impellenti all' impetrazione; nel che pure reſta eccitato il di lei zelo a far che in ciò da proprj Miniſtri ſi preſti opera fedele, per che in ciò non ſegua abuſo contrario alla mente delle coſtituzioni della Chieſa, ed alle caritatevoli maſſime del Governo, o che poſſa riuſcire in aggravio de' ſuoi Dioceſani.

Eſſendo ſtato proveduto dalle leggi noſtre che ſenza pubblica licenza niuno poſſa impetrar Brevi per commutazioni

inſupportable to their poor and humble ſtation, they meet with difficulties in the execution committed to the officers of the common courts, and inſurmountable oppoſitions, as the cauſes laid before the courts are not proved, and they loſe the money which they have ſpent upon that account, and are under a neceſſity of being at expences ſtill more conſiderable. Therefore no ſuch matrimonial diſpenſations ſhall be licenced which are not, before they are obtained, preceded by a legal atteſtation of the court, that the cauſes which occaſioned them to be obtained, were before the time of the execution thoroughly examined and proved, with all the methods and precautions cuſtomary to be obſerved in the reſpective caſes; and you are exhorted to ſhew your zeal in making your own ſubſtitutes exert themſelves to the utmoſt, that in this there may follow no abuſe contrary to the ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, and the benevolent maxims of government, or which may prove hurtful to your dioceſans.

It being provided by our laws, that no body is to obtain briefs

mutazioni delle ultime volontà, non ſarà licenziata perciò alcuna Carta di fuori per riduzioni di Meſſe, che veniſſe impetrata ſenza queſto eſenziale requiſito, e ſenza il previo aſcolto degli Eredi di quelli, che aveſſero ordinata la celebrazione, overo di chi aver poteſſe in dette Diſpoſizioni titolo, overo intereſſe.

E perche è arrivato alla pubblica notizia che contro le chiare uniformi, e riſolutiſſime diſpoſizioni de' ſagri Canoni, e de' ſteſſi provedimenti publici la licenzioſità de' ſudditi continua con modi indiretti a procurarſi Bolle di rinunzie ad favorem, e Coadjutorie con futura ſucceſſione ne' Beneſizj loro tanto deteſtate da Padri della Chieſa, coſe tutte, che tornano in diminuzione del diritto de' Collatori ordinarj, in notabiliſſimo detrimento de' ſudditi, ed in danno dello Stato per li moltiplici, e graviſſimi diſpendj col procurarſi conſimili convenzioni, e quelle diſpenſe che dalle leggi ſalutari, e dalla ſpedizione delle Bolle vanno inſeparabili; ſi

briefs for the commutation of teſtaments, therefore no foreign order for the reducing of the number of maſſes ſhall be licenced, which is obtained without the eſſential requiſite, and without firſt obtaining the conſent of the heirs who had directed them to be celebrated, or of whoever might be really intereſted in the ſaid diſpoſitions.

And becauſe it is come to the public knowledge, that contrary to the clear, uniform, and fixed deciſions of the ſacred canons and public regulations, the licentiouſneſs of ſubjects continues by indirect methods to procure bulls of renunciation *ad favorem*, and coadjutorial bulls, with future ſucceſſion to their beneſices, ſo much deteſted by the fathers of the church; all which particulars prejudice the rights of the ordinary collators, greatly hurt the ſubject, and cauſe conſiderable loſs to the ſtate, through the many and grievous expences unavoidable in procuring ſuch bargains, and thoſe expences which are inſeparable from ſalutary laws and the diſpatching of bulls; it is therefore ordained, that, for the

si è pero stabilito, che in avvenire non sia lecito a qualsisia Ecclesiastico del Dominio nostro di far' altre rinunzie de' proprj beneficj posti entro le publiche Dizioni che quelle permesse dai Canoni della Chiesa e dai Concilj predetti, e che non sia permesso di far de' medesimi nella Curia Romana rinunzia ad favorem, overo impetrar Bolle di coadjutorie, con futura successione sotto qualunque pretesto, in pena a chi trasgrediisse di conveniente correzione secondo la qualità delle Persone, e della contrafazione.

E se qualche particolar caso meriterà eccezione, ciò non sarà altrimente lecito di poter farsi, che prima si abbia ottenuta publica licenza di non esser concessa, se non che colle ristrettezze e formalità decretate, e previe le di lei attestazioni, e de' suoi successori.

Resta in fine eccitato il di lei zelo di ordinare a' Ministri della propria Concellaria una distinta, e giurata nota in cui restano epilogate in Catalogo tutte le

future, it shall not be lawful for any ecclesiastic to make any other renunciations of their own benefices which belong to this state, except those that are permitted by the canons of the church, and by the councils aforesaid, and that it shall not be lawful to make of the same a renunciation *ad favorem* in the Roman court, or obtain coadjutorial bulls with a right to future succession upon any pretext whatever, upon pain of a punishment adequate to the crime and suited to the quality of the offender, being inflicted upon whoever transgresses.

And if any particular case should deserve to be excepted, this shall not be lawful, unless public licence is first obtained, shewing it has not been granted but with the restrictions and formalities customary upon such occasions, and with the previous attestations of your grace and your successors.

Finally your grace is requested to order the secretaries of your own office to draw up a particular and sworn memorandum, containing

Bolle, Brevi, e Reſcritti d'Indulgenze, Conceſſioni, Diſpenſe, Privilegj, Rinunzie, e Coadjutorie, che dalla detta di lei Curia, ed Offiziali per il Corſo di queſto ultimo Decennio foſſero ſtate eſeguite, facendovi aggiungere a detta nota la diſtinta taſſa delle ſpeſe per quelle occorſe, e ſolite pagarſi tanto nella Romana Curia, quanto nella propria, ben' intendendoſi con queſto Magiſtrato ai ſopra Monaſterj, per farcela pervenire con ſollecitudine.

Abbiamo di tutto queſto voluto, che ella ne reſti inteſa per quella giuſta confidenza, che hà il Senato, che vorrà congiungere l'opera della ſua connaturale pietà, e prudenza alle religioſe intenzioni del Governo, onde ſempre più meritarſi la pubblica eſtimazione, e gradimento.

DECRETO

containing a compendious catalogue of all the bulls, briefs, and reſcripts of indulgences, conceſſions, diſpenſations, privileges, renunciations, and coadjutorial bulls, that have been executed in your graces's ſaid court, and by your officers, during the laſt ten years, cauſing to be ſubjoined to the ſaid memorandum a diſtinct account of the expences occaſioned by them, and which it was cuſtomary to pay, as well in the Roman court as your own, including alſo the monaſteries, in order to have ſuch memorandum ſpeedily ſent us.

We have thought proper to inſinuate this to your grace, through the juſt confidence of the ſenate, that you will join the aſſiſtance of your innate piety and prudence to the religious intentions of the government, which will make you ſtill more deſerving of the public eſteem and benevolence.

DECREE

DECRETO

Del Gran Consiglio di Venezia.

7 Sett. 1754.

" *DA questo dì in avvenire sia espressamente*
" *vietato a qualunque suddito di ricorrere a Roma per*
" *qualsivoglia sorta di dispense, che non si possano ot-*
" *tenere dall' Ordinario, e che in ogni caso di dover*
" *ricorrere, si abbia da fare, ma per la via dell' Or-*
" *dinario, senza spesa alcuna, intendendo il Principe*
" *Serenissimo, che ogni uno abbia a conformarsi al*
" *Concilio di Trento, alli Decreti, e Bolle Pontificie,*
" *senza esiggere dispense dalle accettate Leggi, delle*
" *quali ogni Principe Cristiano è mantenitore.*

PRIMA

DECREE

Of the great council of Venice.

7 September, 1759.

FROM this day forward every subject is expresly forbidden to apply to Rome for any dispensation of any sort, which cannot be obtained from the ordinary; and in every case, in which application is to be made, it should be made by the ordinary, and without any sort of expence, it being the intention of his serene highness the doge, that all shall conform to the council of Trent, to the decrees and pontifical bulls, without exacting dispensations from the received laws of which every Christian prince is defender.

FIRST

PRIMA LETTERA

Scritta dal Papa Clemente XIII. alla Repubblica.

APPENA inalzati dalla Providenza del Signore, ſenz' alcun merito, ed opera noſtra, in tempi tanto miſeri, e calamitoſi al ſupremo Governo della Chieſa, rivolgiamo il penſiero, e lo ſguardo verſo Voſtra Serenità, come degno, ed illuſtre Capo di una Repubblica, che abbiamo fin' ora, per il noſtro naſcimento, oſſervata per noſtra dilettiſſima Madre, e che ameremo da qui innanzi per il grado in cui ſiamo coſtituiti, di Padre di tutti i fedeli, come noſtra cariſſima figlia, partecipandole con queſta lettera, ſcritta di pugno, queſto inaſpettato noſtro ſucceſſo.

Siamo però ricolmi di una giuſta fiducia, ch' eſſendo la medeſima intereſſata a procurare, che il noſtro Reggimento rieſca a lei di gloria, e di utilità alla Chieſa, vorrà

FIRST LETTER

Written by pope Clement XIII. to the republic.

SCARCE raiſed by divine providence, without any merit or efforts of our own, in times of ſuch diſtreſs and calamity, to the ſupreme government of the church, we turn our thoughts and conſiderations to your ſerene highneſs, as the worthy and illuſtrious head of a republic, which we have hitherto, on account of our birth, reſpected as our beloved mother, and which we ſhall henceforward love, on account of the ſtation in which we are placed, of father of all the faithful, as our deareſt daughter, communicating to you with this letter written with our hand this our unexpected ſucceſs.

We are therefore full of juſt confidence that the republic, being intereſted to render our government glorious to her, and advantageous to the church, will aſſiſt us with her powerful

vorrà assisterci colla efficacia delle sue orazioni, e colla Saviezza de' suoi Consigli, ed incominciare ancora a felicitarne, com' erasi già principiato con questa S. Sede, dandoci il tempo, ed i mezzi di potervi ulteriormente travagliare, com' erasi già incominciato dal nostro Predecessore; ne porgiamo, a questo fine, a Vostra Serenità le più fervorose preghiere, assicurandola, che, siccome ci sarebbe di un sommo contento, che la nostra amatissima Patria dasse agli altri Principi Cattolici questo pio, e generoso esempio di filiale deferenza alle giuste istanze del Vicario di Cristo, così darebbe ancora a noi motivo di approfittarci, maggiormente della dignità Pontificia, per promuovere le sue convenienze, e per implorare in grado di sommo Sacerdote dal motor d'ogni bene, a Vostra Serenità, alla Repubblica, ed alli suoi Dominj ogn' incremento di gloria, e di felicità. Intanto non lasceremo di ringraziarla per la parte, che il Cardinale Delfino, per far cosa grata, come non dubitiamo a Vostra Serenità, ed alla Repubblica, ha preso

powerful prayers, and with the wisdom of her councils, and begin to make us happy, as she has already begun with this Holy See, giving us the time and means to labour farther for this purpose, as our predecessor had opened the way; we for this end prefer to your serene highness our most fervent prayers, assuring you that as it would be the highest satisfaction to us, that our beloved country should give other catholic princes this pious and generous example of filial deference to the just sollicitations of the vicar of Christ, so it would furnish us with a motive to avail ourselves the more of our pontifical dignity, in order to promote the interests of the republic, and to implore, in quality of chief pontiff, that the giver of all good would bestow upon your serene highness, upon the republic, and upon its territories, all sorts of glory and felicity. At the same time, we return thanks to your serene highness for the part which cardinal Delfino, in complaisance, as we take it for granted, to your serene highness

and

preſo inſieme coll' Ambaſciatore per la noſtra Eſaltazione, e per ultimo le diamo coll' intimo del noſtro cuore l'Appoſtolica Benedizione.

and to the republic, has taken, in conjunction with the ambaſſador, to promote our exaltation; and finally we heartily give your ſerene highneſs our apoſtolical benediction.

VENEZIA.

5 Agoſto 1758.

IL Papa nella prima Lettera quà ſcritta non ha oltrepaſſato i termini d'un ordinario, e più toſto diminuito complimento. Ha poi ſconfinato nell' entrare in materia pur troppo moleſta, ma con un' accorta conneſſione: cio che hà fatto con eſpreſſioni, che non ammettono interpretazioni, e che eſcludono, e bandiſcono ogni luſinga.

Fu appreſa la coſa comunemente così, come dovevaſi, e fu ſeriamente trattata nel ceto più riſpettabile. Se il ſentimento de' più ſaggi prevaleva, il colpo era belliſſimo, e coteſta Corte reſtava ſorpreſa, e legata da una

VENICE.

Auguſt 5, 1758.

THE pope in the firſt of theſe letters has not paſſed the bounds of an ordinary and moderate compliment. He has afterwards paſſed the due bounds, in entering upon a perplexing ſubject but with an ingenious connexion: this he has done with expreſſions which do not admit of interpretation, and which exclude and baniſh all flattery.

The thing was generally underſtood as it ſhould be, and was treated ſeriouſly in the moſt reſpectful aſſembly of the ſtate. If the opinion of the wiſeſt prevailed, the ſtroke would have been a glorious one, and that court remained ſurprized and convicted

una volontaria condonazione per cui ſarebbeſi ſepolta ogni conteſa, e ſchivata la odioſa interpoſizione delle corti eſtere. Ma poiche nelle adunanze, ove ſi delibera con pluralità di ſuffragj, le palle ſi contano, e non ſi peſano; perciò i Giovani oppoſitori la vinſero colla propoſta della ſoſpenſione di quattro meſi.

Oggi ſi rinuova lo ſquittinio, che ſarà lunghiſſimo, e ſe tale ſarà, non ſi conchiuderà nulla: qui non vi ſono menti ne coſcienze; ma nel corpo Civile, nientemeno che nel naturale, per ſane che ſiano le parti nobili, la contaminazione può naſcere dalle parti men nobili. Perciò quanto a me nulla affatto ſpero di buono: tanto più che nelle conteſe di due Dominj contermini, trà quali la rivalità univerſale è innata, e perpetua, vi veggo aggiunte nella preſente providenza le gare paeſane, che ſono più pericoloſe dell' eſterne.

Una Caſa nuova, ſtimata per la incomparabile ſua probità, invidiata egualmente per le ſterminate ſue richezze,

convicted by a voluntary pardon, whereby every conteſt would have been buried, and the odious interpoſition of foreign courts would have been avoided. But as in aſſemblies, where deliberations are determined by a plurality of votes, the ballotting bulls are reckoned and not weighed, the young men who oppoſed the wiſeſt opinion, prevailed by propoſing a ſuſpenſion of four months.

To day the ſcrutiny is renewed, which will be very long, and if it ſhould prove ſo, nothing will be concluded: here are neither minds nor conſciences; but in the body politic, juſt as in the natural, however ſound the noble parts may be, contagion may ſpread from the leſs noble. Therefore I, for my ſhare, hope for no good: and the more, as, in the conteſts of two neighbouring regions, between which there is an innate, general and laſting rivalſhip, I ſee joined in the preſent diſpute the quarrels of fellow citizens, which are more dangerous than foreign broils.

A new family, eſteemed on account of its extraordinary probity,

richezze, portata repentinamente al Soglio, in tante teſte pieniſſime di pregiudizj, oltre ogni credere hà eccitato rancore, anzi che nò. Il commune acclama, i giuſti e i ſaggi godono, e tripudiano; il mal fermento vorrebbe contaminare la Maſſa.

Fà ſtordire, Signor mio carò, aver veduta queſta Caſa in men di cinque anni comprare un Palazzo imperfetto sì, ma di belliſſima Architettura, nel poſto più nobile, e più delizioſo del Canal grande, e compirlo colla ſteſſa ſimetria; di poi fare un Matrimonio colla gran Caſa Savorniano e ſpendere aſſai più di cento mila Ducati: appreſſo fare le feſte della eſaltazione del Papa: immediatamente quelle di Procuratore di S. Marco; poco dopo il funeral della Madre; queſto proſſimo Ottobre l'entrata di Procuratore, e trà poco, come ſi ſpera, quella del Figliuolo Cardinale, non ſolo ſenza battere alla porta di alcuno, né ſenza levar il danaro che ha nei pubblici depoſiti in copia ſorprendente,

probity, equally envied for its immenſe wealth, raiſed all on a ſudden to the throne, has in ſo many minds filled with prejudices raiſed much rancour. The vulgar ſhout, the good and wiſe rejoice and dance; the bad leaven would infect the whole maſs.

It aſtoniſhes me, my dear ſir, to have ſeen this family, in leſs than five years, buy a palace, which indeed was not compleatly finiſhed, but the architecture of which was admirable, in the moſt noble and delicious ſituation, and finiſh it with the utmoſt ſymetry, afterwards marry into the great Savonian family, and ſpend above a hundred thouſand ducats: next celebrate the feſtival of the pope's exaltation: immediately afterwards that of procurator of St. Mark; ſoon after the mother's funeral: the laſt October, the entry of the procurator, and in a ſhort time, it is to be hoped, that of the cardinal: not only without applying to any body for aſſiſtance, or without breaking in upon the ſums depoſited in the public funds in great abundance, but even without

ſtepping

dente, ma ſenza uſcir di Caſa. Un diſpendio di queſta ſorte fatto con tanta magnificenza, e con tanta indifferenza, e con tanta pacatezza, ha meritato lo ſtordimento di tutti, e con eſſo la invidia di molti: coſe tutte repugnanti a quella Equanimità, che vorrebbeſi in tutti per appianare ogni ſcabroſità.

Ma ciò che mi crucia è il rammentarmi di quel che in altro tempo narrommi il Sereniſſimo Grimani, il quale eſſendo Ambaſciatore in Inghilterra, ebbe un giorno il coraggio d'interppellare uno de' principali di quel Miniſtero coſa mai aveſſe fatto di male il vivente Rè Jacopo? a cui fu riſpoſto. Il ſuo male ſtà, che egli nulla di male ha fatto a noi, ma noi ne habbiamo fatto troppo a lui.

Chi ſiede ora le ſa tutte, né hà diſſimulato punto col ſilenzio. La Caſa qui non poſſiede che un Palazzo ed una Villa. Jeri però avendo diſcorſo col Procuratore Emo, mi aſſicurò di ſapere che il fratello del Papa abbia ſottoſcritto un trattato di Compra di una tenuta del

ſtepping out of its own peculiar ſphere. An expence of this ſort, made with ſuch munificence, with ſuch indifference and eaſe, has juſtly aſtoniſhed all, and excited the envy of many; ſuch circumſtances being repugnant to that equanimity required in all to remove every difficulty.

But what gives me pain is to recollect what was once told me by the moſt ſerene Grimani, who, being ambaſſador in England, had one day the courage to aſk one of the chief perſons in the miniſtry of that kingdom, what wrong their preſent king James had ever done? who received this anſwer: His misfortune is that he never did us any wrong, but we have done him too much.

He that ſits at preſent upon the papal throne knows all this, and has concealed nothing of it by ſilence. The family is here poſſeſſed only of a palace and a houſe. But happening yeſterday to have ſome converſation with the agent Emo, he aſſured me he was well informed that the

del valore di 200 e più mila Ducati prima di partire per la Villa nel Giugno paſſato. Non sò decidere ſe l'aveſſe fatta dopo il fauſtiſtiſſimo Giorno del 6. di Luglio. Vi dico ora alle curte che qui nulla affatto ſi opera di buono da coteſta banda, riputandoſi il Papa non pure per diſappaſſionato, ma poſitivamente per avverſo, e diſguſtato, e com' eſſi dicono ad alta voce: Romano, Romano, Romano.

the pope's brother had ſigned a treaty of purchaſe, of a farm worth above two hundred thouſand ducats, before he ſet out for the city in laſt June. I cannot be poſitive whether he did it after the glorious 6th of July. Here I muſt tell you, under hand, that nothing good is done upon that quarter, the pope being conſidered not as a diſpaſſionate man, but as abſolutely averſe and diſguſted, and as it is loudly proclaimed, a Roman, a Roman, a Roman.

COPIA

Della Ducale venuta da Venezia a N. S. Clemente XIII.

Sanctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, & D. Clementi XIII. dignè, Dei Providentia Sacroſanctæ Romanæ, & univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſummo Pontifici, Franciſcus Lauredanus Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum.

MENTRE con molta rifleſſione da noi verſavaſi ſopra l'eſpreſſioni, che nell'anzi paſſata ſettimana l'ambaſ-

COPY

Of the doge's letter which was ſent from Venice to pope Clement XIII.

To the moſt holy father in Chriſt and God, Clement XIII. deſervedly raiſed by divine providence to be chief pontif of the holy Roman catholic church, Francis Lauredano, by the grace of God doge of Venice, ſends health.

WHILST we profoundly reflected upon the repreſentations made to us laſt week, by our ambaſſador cavalier

l'ambaſciator noſtro Cavaliere Correr ci rappreſentó uſcite dalla Santità Voſtra, le quali moſtravano l'efficace ſuo deſiderio, che ſi poneſſe fine alle inſorte differenze col ritiro del decreto del 7 Sett. 1754, giunſe il pregiatiſſimo foglio di Voſtra Santità. Vi abbiamo lucidamente riconoſciuto il Carattere retto, ed ingenuo della Santità Voſtra, la quale, come Capo della Chieſa riconoſce la facoltà Legiſlativa nata colla Repubblica, ſempre da eſſa eſercitata, ſpiegandoſi Voſtra Beatudine iſteſſa, che qualora ſuccedeſſe per libera autorità del Senato il ritiro del decreto 7 Sett. 1754. ció non può, ne potrà mai recare veruna leſione alla Poteſtà noſtra Legiſlativa. Ció premeſſo Voſtra Santità ci richiede con ſenſi teneri, ed affettuoſi, come una grazia da ſuoi attaccatiſſimi figli, il ritiro del ſuddetto decreto: Perció eſſendo noi aſſicurati in punto così eſſenziale, attinente alle Leggi, e alle conſuetudini noſtre, ci troviamo in grado di dirle, di avere in queſt oggi ritirato il

Correr, from your holineſs, ſetting forth your earneſt deſire that an end ſhould be put to the differences by repealing the decree of Sep. 7, 1754, your holineſs's much eſteemed letter arrived. In it we have plainly diſcovered the upright and ingenuous character of your holineſs, who as head of the church, muſt acknowledge the legiſlative power coeval with the republick, which was always exerciſed by her; your holineſs explaining yourſelf, that whenever the decree of September 7, 1754, ſhould be repealed by the ſenate's authority, this neither can nor ever will in any manner impair or injure our legiſlative power. This being premiſed, your holineſs requeſts us in the moſt tender and affecting manner, as a favour and inſtance of duty in your moſt devoted ſons, to repeal the ſaid decree: therefore having received ſecurity with regard to a point ſo eſſential, relative to our laws and cuſtoms, we at preſent have it in our power to inform you that we have to day repealed that decree of the 7th of September,

il Decreto 7 Sett. 1754 colle carte, ch' ebbero a queſto relazione. Benigniſſimo Padre, ſia queſto un indubitato Contraſſegno della continuazione del noſtro ſommo giubbilo per vedere la Santità Voſtra noſtro Concittadino per i ſegnalati meriti ſuoi, ed egregie virtudi eſaltato al ſupremo Governo della Chieſa: per quello poi ſia alle di lei eſpreſſioni tanto generoſe, e cordiali verſo la Patria ſua, non abbiamo che a dichiararle il noſtro pieniſſimo riconoſcimento, ſicuri ch'ella ci riguarderà ſempre nel ſuo inſigne Pontificato, come prediletti ſuoi figli; e mentre che imploriamo dalla Beatitudine voſtra l'appoſtolica Benedizione, con filiale oſſequioſo riſpetto ci umiliamo al bacio del ſuo Santiſſimo Piede.

Datum in noſtro Ducali Palatio die 12 *Auguſti indictione* 6. 1758.

N. N. Segretario.

tember, 1754, with the papers relative thereto. Moſt benevolent father, let this be an unqueſtionable proof of our joy, at ſeeing your holineſs, our countryman, raiſed by your ſignal merit and uncommon virtues to the higheſt place in the church; then with regard to what relates to your holineſs's generous and cordial expreſſions concerning your native country, we can only expreſs to you our warm ſenſe of gratitude, being certain that your holineſs will always conſider us in your illuſtrious pontificate as your beloved ſons; and whilſt we implore your holineſs's apoſtolical benediction, we with profound and filial reſpect bend to kiſs your holineſs' foot.

Given at our ducal palace on the 12th of Auguſt, indiction 6, 1758.

N. N. Secretary.

IN PREGADI.

" Ai Rettori Principali della Terra ferma, Capi
" di Provincia, ed alli Proviſori Generali di
" Mare, e di Dalmazia, e Albania, ed al Po-
" deſtà, e Capitano di Capo d'Iſtria.

12 *Agoſto* 1758.

CON le Ducali 15 *Luglio decorſo notificammo avere il Senato per atto ſuo ſpontaneo prorogata la ſoſpenſione del Decreto* 7 *Sett.* 1754, *e ció per manifeſtare l'eſultanza noſtra per l'eſaltazione al ſommo Governo della Chieſa di un noſtro Concittadino; avendoci perció la Beatitudine ſua paleſati gli efficaciſſimi deſiderj, perche il decreto iſteſſo per ſpontanea noſtra autorità foſſe retirato; vi concorſe anche in queſto giorno il Senato, deſideroſo di dar ſempre continuata teſtimonianza della propria venerazione verſo la di lui Sagra Perſona.*

At the PREGADI HALL.

To the chief governors of the continent, the heads of provinces and the general purveyors for the ſea, Dalmatia, and Albania, and to the Podeſta and captain of the Cape of Iſtria.

Auguſt 12, 1758.

BY our ducal letters of the 15th of July laſt, we intimated that the ſenate had by its ſpontaneous act prorogued the ſuſpenſion of the decree of September 1754, and this to ſhew our joy at the exhaltation of one of our countrymen to the higheſt dignity in the church; his holineſs having diſcovered to us a ſtrong deſire that the decree itſelf ſhould be repealed by our ſpontaneous authority; the ſenate concurred, with the ſupreme pontif, being deſirous of giving a conſtant teſtimony of their high veneration for his ſacred perſon.

We

Perſona. Vi commettiamo perciò di render nota queſta noſtra deliberazione a coteſta Curia Veſcovile, ed alle Comunità Religioſe alla voſtra rappreſentanza ſoggette, riſpedendoſi le ducali alle medeſime ſcritte, e di unirci gli ordini circolari, che ſaranno ſtati rilaſciati. Avrete poi ad invigilare, e renderne parimente avvertita la Curia e Comunità ſuddetta, acciò ogn'uno abbia con eſattezza ad attenerſi alla eſecuzione delle Leggi noſtre precedenti al Decreto 7 Sett. 1754.

We therefore recommend it to you to make this reſolution of ours known to that eccleſiaſtical court, and to the religious communities ſubject to your juriſdiction, diſpatching likewiſe the ducal letters written to the ſame, and joining to them the circular orders which happen to be left behind. You muſt then watch attentively and apprize both the court and community aforeſaid, that all may with exactneſs attend to the execution of our laws previous to the decree of December 7, 1754.

SECONDA LETTERA

Di Clemente XIII. alla Repubblica di Venezia.

QUALE, e quanta ſia ſtata la noſtra Conſolazione, allorche dal Cavaliere Pietro Correr, Ambaſciatore, ci fu recato l'aggradevole riſcontro della prontezza, colla quale il Senato è concorſo ad incontrare le noſtre

SECOND LETTER

Of Clement XIII. to the repulic of Venice.

HOW great our ſatisfaction was when we received from the cavalier Petter Correr, your ambaſſador, the acceptable information of the readineſs with which the ſenate concurred in giving us ſatisfaction, and ſeconding the urgent

noſtre ſoddisfazioni, e a ſecondare le iſtanze, che gli avevamo fatte di ritirare prontamente il Decreto del 7 Sett. 1754. *come abbiamo riconoſciuto, e dalla Lettera di Voſtra Serenità, ch'egli ci ha conſegnata, e dagli ordini relativi, toſto ſpediti ai Pubblici rappreſentanti; ci conviene di confeſſare non aver noi maniera di ben ſpiegarlo, onde voi dilettiſſimi figli, concepire ne poſſiate adeguatamente la noſtra eſultanza. Vi diremo eſſere ſtati noi ſorpreſi da una tenerezza sì grande, che non abbiamo potuto trattenerla tutta in noi ſteſſi, ſenza darla a conoſcere colle lagrime, che abbiamo creduto ben tributare al compimento glorioſo di un affare, che non poteva non eſſere di ſomma noſtra premura. Dopo di aver pertanto umiliate a Dio Signore, che col divino ſuo lume ha reſi facili, e pronti i voſtri Cuori alle circoſtanze ed alle rimoſtranze del ſuo Vicario in Terra, voſtro Concittadino, le più divote grazie, non dobbiamo laſciare di conteſtarvi la noſtra più ſincera riconoſcenza per l'illuſtre*

requeſt we made then to repeal quickly the decree of the 7th of September 1754, as we have diſcovered both by the letter which your ſerene highneſs has ſent us, and the orders relative to it immediately diſpatched to the public magiſtrates; we muſt acknowledge that it is not in our power to expreſs ourſelves upon the occaſion in ſuch a manner, that you our beloved ſons may be able to form an adequate conception of our joy. We muſt tell you then, that our feelings were ſo affecting, that we could hardly contain ourſelves, but were compelled to witneſs them by our tears, which we thought ourſelves in duty bound to pay upon the glorious conſummation of an affair which gave us the higheſt concern. Therefore after having returned thanks to the Almighty, that by his divine light has rendered your hearts prone to comply with the circumſtances and remonſtrances of his vicegerent upon earth, your countryman, we muſt not neglect to intimate to you our ſincere acknowledgment for

the

luſtre teſtimonio, per il coſpicuo eſempio, che dato avete al Mondo tutto Cattolico, dell'oſſequio, che profeſſate alla Santa Sede, che tramandato in voi dai Voſtri Maggiori, reſiſi cotanto benemeriti per memorandi egregi fatti, vive tuttavia, e viverà ſempre negli animi voſtri; e di quel particolare attaccamento, ch'eſſendo il Carattere ſpecioſo, con cui l'inclita voſtra Repubblica riguarda i ſuoi figli, l'avete ora ſi manifeſtamente dato a conoſcere verſo di noi, voſtro figlio inſieme, e voſtro Padre. Che ſe a tali rifleſſi tanto è ſtato il voſtro gradimento, non ſarà punto inferiore la noſtra riconoſcenza, e noſtro ſarà il penſiero di darvene covincenti riprove, e quelle appunto, che da noi, come da grato Cittadino potete ſperare a gloria, ed utilità della comune diletta Patria. Tale ſi è la noſtra diſpoſizione, e tali in progreſſo ſaranno gli effetti: In pegno di che alla Serenità voſtra, e ai noſtri dilettiſſimi figli, e Concittadini coi più teneri ſenſi di paterno amore diamo l'Appoſtolica Benedizione.

tne illuſtrious teſtimony, for the ſhining example which you have given the whole catholic world of the obedience which you profeſs to the Holy See, tranſmitted to you by your anceſtors, who ſignalized themſelves to ſuch a degree, by great and illuſtrious deeds, the memory of which lives and ſhall live in your minds; and of that particular attachment which your illuſtrious republick is accuſtomed to ſhew to its ſons, and which you have, in ſo conſpicuous a manner ſhewed us at once your ſon and your father. If you are pleaſed with theſe conſiderations, our gratitude ſhall not be inferior, and it ſhall be our care to give you convincing proofs of it, and ſuch proofs as you may expect from us as a grateful countryman, which may turn to the glory and utility of our beloved country. Such is our diſpoſition, and ſuch in time ſhall prove the effects of it: in token of which we give your ſerene highneſs, and our beloved ſons and countrymen our apoſtolical benediction, with the moſt tender ſenſe of paternal affection.

End of the papers relative to the article of Venice.

PANEGIRICO
SACRO
DEL SERAPHICO PADRE
SAN FRANCESCO,

Per recitarſi nel giorno feſtivo de' ſuoi natalitii, nel coſpicuo convento

DELLE ILLUSTRISSIME SIGNORE MADRI
DI SAN LORENZO
Di Venetia:

Dal Reverendiſſimo Padre
FRANCESCO DA S. AUGUSTINO MACEDO,
De' Minori Obſervanti,
Lettor giubilato del ſuo ordine, Publico di Padova, e Cittadino di Venetia.

THE
SACRED PANEGIRIC
OF THE SERAPHIC FATHER
SAINT FRANCIS,

ſpoken upon the anniverſary of his birth-day, in the renowned Convent

OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS NUNS
OF SAINT LAWRENCE OF VENICE:

By the moſt reverend Father
FRANCESCO DA S. AUGUSTINO MACEDO,
One of the Minor Obſervants,
Jubilee Reader to his own Order, Public Reader of Padua, and Citizen of Venice.

ARGOMENTO,

Lo ſpecchio vicendevole (cioè paragone) trà S. Lorenzo, e S. Franceſco.

Dedicato all' illuſtriſſ. Signora

ELENA LUCRETIA
CORNARA PISCOPIA,
Minerva Veneta, e miracolo litterario de' tempi noſtri.

PATAVII,
Typis & Impenſis JACOBI DE CADORINIS,
M DC LXXV.
Superiorum Permiſſu.

ARGUMENT,

The comparative glaſs, or parallel between St. Lawrence and St. Francis.

Dedicated to the renowned Lady

HELENA LUCRETIA
CORNARA PISCOPIA,
The Venetian Minerva, and literary miracle of our age.

PADUA,
Printed for JAMES DE CODORINIS.
MDCLXXV.
Superiorum Permiſſu.

EPISTOLA

DEDICATORIA

ILLUSTRISSIMA SIGNORA,

Signora, e padrona Colendiſſ.

HAVENDO io per gran fortuna ritrovata queſta perla peregrina in Conchiglia Italiana, non potevo dedicarla che a V. S. Illuſtriſſ. Aurora genitrice di ſimili perle pretioſe d'ingegno, e dottrina: Ella deve riceverla non frà lagrime benche celeſti, ma con riſi piacevoli di godimento, e gradimento; gia che conoſce la valuta di queſta ſorte di gioie, eſſendo vivo teſauro di tante pretioſe quante iddio ne ha depoſitate nell' anima di V. S. Illuſtriſſima. So ben io la ſtima vicendevole frà tutti due: l'autore

DEDICATION.

Moſt reſpectable lady and patroneſs,

HAVING by great good fortune found this foreign pearl in an Italian ſhell, I could think of nobody to dedicate it to but your ladyſhip, the prolific Aurora of ſuch pearls of genius and learning: you ſhould receive it not with tears though celeſtial, but with ſmiles of ſatisfaction and pleaſure; as you know the value of jewels of this nature, being a living treaſure of ſo many precious gems, which the almighty hath depoſited in your generous ſoul. I am well acquainted with the reciprocal eſteem, that ſubſiſts between both, the author who adores your ladyſhip's unparallel'd virtues,

tore ch'adora l'impareggiabili di lei virtù, & ella che ammira l'incomparabili dell' autore, ad ambidue ſtimo fare ſervigio. Comandi V. S. Illuſtriſſima all'autore vada continuando queſto ſtudio, acciocche arricchiſca i Pergami Venetiani, e non dubiti, che ſarà ſervita, eſſendo egli prontiſſimo ad obbedire alli cenni, non che comandi di V. S. Illuſtriſſima. Finiſco con un profondiſſimo inchino profeſſandomi

Di V. S. Illuſtriſſima,

Devotiſſ. & obligatiſſ. ſervitore,

Giacomo Cadorino.

Padova li 29 *Settembre* 1675.

virtues, and you who admire the extraordinary qualities of the author; I think I do a ſervice to both. Let your ladyſhip command the author to continue to purſue this ſtudy in order to enrich the Venetian pulpit, and do not doubt but your orders will be complied with, he being moſt ready to obey the nod, much more the commands of your ladyſhip. I conclude with my moſt profound reſpects, profeſſing myſelf,

Your ladyſhip's,

moſt devoted and oblig'd Servant,

James Codorino.

Padua, Sept. 29, 1675.

PANEGIRICO
SACRO DI SAN
FRANCESCO.

Tollite Jugum meum ſuper vos: Jugum enim meum ſuave eſt, & onus meum leve.
Matth. ix.

QUELLA già chiamata croce ſi chiama al preſente giogo, con la differenza del ſuam, *e del* meum; *croce ſua, e giogo mio. Tutto è miſterioſo: quando è croce, è noſtra,* ſuam; *quando è giogo, è di Criſto,* meum. *Dà noi portata è croce aſpra, e peſante; da Chriſto impoſta è giogo ſoave, e leggiero. La croce è propria d'un ſolo,* tollat: *Il giogo commune a dui:* Tollite: *quindi é che la croce é peſo greve, il giogo ê lieve*

Sacred panegiric of St. Francis.

Take my yoke upon you, for my yoke is eaſy and my burden is light.
Matt. xi. 29, 30.

WHAT was formerly call'd the croſs, is at preſent call'd the yoke, with the difference of *ſuam* and *meum*; his croſs and my yoke. The whole is myſterious: when it is a croſs, it is ours, *ſuam*; when it is a yoke, it is Chriſt's, *meum*. carried by us it is a rough and heavy croſs; impos'd by Chriſt, it is an eaſy and light yoke. The croſs belongs to one alone, *tollat*, let him take it up: the yoke is common to two, *tollite*, take it up: hence it is that the croſs is a heavy burden, but the yoke is light and of little weight on account

of

lieve e ſenza peſo, in virtu del compagno, che giova a portare il giogo. Mi congratulo con Franceſco della felicità preſente. Hoggi in San Lorenzo cambia la ſua croce in giogo, ritrovando compagno in Lorenzo. Concorre con Franceſco al giogo, in virtù del vangelo d'ambidui. L'Evangelo di Lorenzo è del grano del formento, frutto, ed effetto del giogo: Niſi granum frumenti. *L'Evangelio di Franceſco è della croce congionta col medeſimo pane:* Mittamus lignum in panem ejus. *Eſſendo il Sacramento del pane Euchariſtico, effetto e figura del legno della croce. Onde naſce l'argomento del mio ſermone, cio è la compagnia, e ſimilitudine di tutti dui Lorenzo, e Franceſco; l'uno, e l'altro martire di Criſto. Lorenzo per fuoco corporale, Franceſco per incendio mentale:* Per Incendium mentis *dice ſan Bonaventura. M'ingegnerò dunque di dar à vedere che ſono pari nelle virtù, ſimili nel martirio, uguali n lle proprietà, verificandoſi in loro la ſentenza di Criſto:* Tollite Jugum meum ſuper vos,

of the companion who aſſiſts in bearing the yoke. I rejoice with Francis, upon his preſent happineſs; this very day, being the feſtival of St. Lawrence, he changes his croſs into a yoke, finding company in St. Lawrence. He comes with Francis to the yoke, in virtue of the goſpel of both. The goſpel of St. Lawrence relates to the grain of corn, the fruit and effect of the yoke: *niſi granum frumenti.* The goſpel of Francis conſiſts of the croſs join'd with the bread itſelf: *mittamus lignum in panem ejus.* The ſacrament of the bread of the Euchariſt, being an effect and type of the wood of the croſs. Hence ariſes the argument of my ſermon, which turns upon the company and ſimilitude of the two ſaints, Lawrence and Francis; both of whom were martyrs to Chriſt. Lawrence by corporeal fire, Francis by mental: *per incendium mentis* ſays St. Bonaventure. I ſhall therefore endeavour to make it appear that they are equal in virtue, that they reſemble in their martyrdom, that they are equal in their qualities, and that in them

vos, *a pró di queſto illuſtre convento delle monache di ſan Lorenzo, e di ſan Franceſco aſſieme; aſſicurandoſi che non perderà punto nella combinatione Lorenzo; perché eſſendo Franceſco un'altro Criſto, ne riſulterà delli trè una nova Trinitá in terra, Criſto, Lorenzo, e Franceſco. Il fuoco è pronto per far l'unione nella fornace della caritá: applichiamo lingegno, & il diſcorſo, e voi Signori aſcoltanti, la Benevolenza; vederete una bella metamorfoſi, cioé transformatione di Franceſco in Lorenzo col mio favellare ſenza favoleggiare; e ſon da capo.*

Fù Lorenzo levita per miniſtero, Miniſter Chriſti & levita: *Franceſco per miſtero: levita, lieviſſimo, ſenza gravità terrena, come gli altri figli degli uomini.* Filii hominum uſquequò gravi corde: *niente ebbe di*

is verified the order of Chriſt: *Tollite jugum meum ſuper vos*, to the emolument of the illuſtrious convent of the nuns of St. Lawrence, and of St. Francis; being very certain that Lawrence will looſe nothing in the compariſon; becauſe Francis being another Chriſt, there will reſult from the three a new trinity upon earth, conſiſting of Chriſt, Lawrence, and Francis. The fire is ready to produce union in the furnace of charity: let us exert our genius and our eloquence; and you, my illuſtrious hearers attend with benevolence; you will ſee a fine metamorphoſis, that is a transformation of Francis into Lawrence, from my diſcourſe, which ſhall be intirely free from any mixture of fables; ſo I ſhall immediately enter upon my ſubject.

Lawrence was by his miniſtry, *miniſter Chriſti & levita:* Francis was ſo in a myſterious manner:* levity itſelf, even exceeding light, without any mixture of terreſtrial gravity, like the reſt of the ſons of men. *Filii hominum uſquequoque gravi corde:* he had nothing in him terreſtrial, but all things celeſtial,

* The original contains a pun, which cannot well be rendered in Engliſh, the word *levita* ſignifying a levite, and *levità* with an accent upon the laſt implying levity, lightneſs.

di terreno, tutto di celeſte, figlio del Padre del Cielo, rinonciando il padre carnale con tutto il valſente terreno al principio di ſua converſione, dicendo Pater meus qui es in Cœlis. *Mentre Lorenzo era levita, Franceſco diventó levità, leggieriſſimo, leviſſimo, ſenza nulla, ridotto al niente,* ad nihilum redactus ſum; æſtimabat ſe nihil ex humilitate, *diſſe Lyra,* & neſcivi. *Reſtó ſenza ſcienza, ſenza conoſcenza di ſe medeſimo, percioché era niente, & il niente non è oggetto di ſcienza. Del verbo divino ſi dice appreſſo Giovanni Evangeliſta,* ſine ipſo factum eſt nihil, *má di Franceſco,* ex ipſo factum eſt nihil. *Per virtù del Verbo il nulla diventò tutto; per Franceſco, il tutto diventò nulla. Lorenzo era levita,* levita Laurentius. *Criſto era la Vita,* Ego ſum Vita. *Franceſco è levità, ſenza materia, ſenza peſo, nulla, e niente,* ad nihilum redactus ſum: *Franceſco è una coſa aſtratta d'ogni materia, ſenza poſſeſſione, ſenza porto, ſenza ſuporto:*

tial, being ſon to the heavenly father, and renouncing his carnal parent, with all his earthly property at the beginning of his converſion, whilſt he repeated the Lord's prayer, *Pater meus qui es in Cœlis.* Whilſt Lawrence was a levite, Francis became levity, moſt light, without any incumbrance, reduc'd to nothing, *ad nihilum redactus ſum; æſtimabat ſe nihil ex humilitate,* ſays *Lyra, & neſcivi.* He remain'd without ſcience, without knowledge of himſelf, becauſe he was nothing, and nothing is not an object of ſcience. It is ſaid of the divine Word, in St. John the Evangeliſt, *ſine ipſo factum eſt nihil,* but of Francis it is ſaid, *ex ipſo factum eſt nihil.* By virtue of the word nothing became every thing; by Francis every thing became nothing. Lawrence was a levite, *levita Laurentius.* Chriſt was the life, *ego ſum vita.* Francis is levity without matter, without weight, abſolute, downright nothing, *ad nihilum redactus ſum:* Francis is ſomething abſtracted from all matter, without poſſeſſion, without port, and without ſupport: & *non eſt ſubſtantia, non eſt facultas,* read

the

ſuporto: & non eſt ſubſtantia, non eſt facultas, *legge l'Ebreo*; *non ha ſoſtanza, non ha facoltà, non ha proprietà, divenne nulla, ſenza avere realità, né eſſere terreno, ſi in particolalare, come in commune, é una coſa aſtratta di tutto il terreno. Altri ſono poveri, ma in concreto con qualche bene terreno: Sono virtuoſi, ma Franceſco è la virtù; e tanto povero, che ſi chiama la povertà in aſtratto. Nella ſua vita ſi narra che fù ſalutato dal Cielo con queſte parole* Ecco la povertà, *non il povero; ma povertà in aſtratto, perchè Franceſco non era lieve, era la medeſima levità; anzi il medeſimo niente:* ad nihilum redactus ſum. *Volete la prova? Sentite il Pſalmo,* Nihil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum in manibus ſuis. *Queſto* nihil, *queſto niente ſi ritrova nelle mani de' Ricchi, all'hora che fanno limoſine a i poveri:* Nihil invenerunt. *Perde la proprietà dove ſi trova queſto niente; Franceſco mantenendoſi lui, e li ſuoi poveri dalle mani de' Ricchi, che li ſoſtentano con limoſine;*

the Hebrews; he has no ſubſtance, he has no faculties, no property, becomes nothing, loſes all reality, ceaſes to be terreſtrial as well in the general as particular, and is ſomething totally abſtracted from whatever is of a terreſtrial nature. Others are poor but with the poſſeſſion of ſome earthly bleſſing: others are virtuous, but Francis is virtue itſelf; and ſo great is his poverty that he is call'd poverty in the abſtract. We are told in his life, that he was ſaluted from Heaven with the following words, "Behold poverty," not the poor man, but poverty in the abſtract, becauſe Francis was not light but levity itſelf; or rather nothing itſelf: *ad nihilum redactus ſum.* Do you require a proof of this? hear the Pſalmiſt, *nihil invenerunt omnes viri divitiarum in manibus ſuis.* This *nihil,* this nothing is found in the hands of the rich, when they give charity to the poor: *nihil invenerunt.* He loſes property, where this nothing is found; Francis ſupporting himſelf and his poor followers by the hands of the rich, who

moſine; volete ſapere chi è Franceſco? Conſultate l'altrui mani, di cui limoſine vive, perché in ſe, né da ſe vivere non puó, non ha niente del ſuo, ſine proprio: *Hà il tutto d'altrui mani,* nihil invenerunt in manibus: *é nulla, è niente, non ha proprio* ſine proprio: *è un niente in ſe, che ſi ritrova nelle altrui mani; favoriſce il penſiero la verſione greca del Pſalmo leggendo coſi* nihil divitiarum. *Niente di ricchezze; quale era Franceſco tanto povero che diventó* nihil divitiarum, *niente de' beni, niente di facoltà terrena. Ma perche il niente di Franceſco non ſi ritrova trà i poveri, ſe non tra i ricchi,* nihil in viris divitiarum? *E forſe intereſſato? Cerca i ricchi, rifiuta i poveri? Nó, Signori, è lontaniſſimo dall'intereſſe Franceſco. Come dunque ſi trova frà i ricchi, non frà i poveri! Perché eſſendo egli povero, & i ſuoi frati poveri, non puá ritrovarſi nei poveri, perché ſi ritrovarebbe fra i* proprii,

ſupport them by their alms. Are you deſirous of knowing who Francis is? Conſult the hands of thoſe by whoſe charity he lives, becauſe he can neither live in himſelf nor by himſelf, and has nothing of his own, *ſine proprio:* he receives every thing from the hands of others, *nihil invenerunt in manibus:* he is nothing, a non ens, he has no property, *ſine proprio:* he is a nothing in himſelf, which is found in the hands of others. The Greek verſion of the pſalm favours the thought if we read *nihil divitiarum.* No riches; no riches; ſuch was Francis, ſo poor, that he became *nihil divitiarum,* poſſeſs'd of no goods, of no terreſtrial property. But how comes it that the nothing of Francis is not to be found amongſt the poor, but amongſt the rich, *nihil in viris divitiarum?* Is he a ſelf-intereſted man? Does he ſeek the rich, does he ſhun the poor? No, gentlemen, Francis is far from ſelf-intereſt. Why then is he found amongſt the rich and not amongſt the poor? Becauſe being himſelf poor and his bretheren poor, he cannot be found amongſt the poor, for he then would be found amongſt his own,

proprii, *e non havendo egli proprio per inſtituto, verrebbe à peccare contro il ſuo Inſtituto, ritrovando il proprio ne i poveri. Venne dunque à ritrovarſi frà i ricchi, che non ſono proprii, ma alieni di Franceſco. Tanto fugge la proprietà. Perfettiſſimo è l'inſtituto, e l'habito di Franceſco, profeſſando il niente. Chriſto nel ſuo habito ſi ritrovó huomo:* Habitu inventus eſt homo; *ma Faanceſco nel ſuo habito, ſi ritrovò niente:* habitu inventus eſt nihil.

Mà ſe Franceſco è niente, come dice Deus meus, & omnia: dio mio & ogni coſa? *Dunque Franceſco hà ſeco Dio & ogni coſa. Due volte replica ogni coſa. Perche eſſendo Dio il tutto, aggionge* omnia? *Baſtava dire, Dio mio, e tralaſciare l'*omnia: *Nò Signori; penetrate il miſtero: concorre Dio, e Franceſco ad eſſere il tutto: iddio creando il tutto da niente, e Franceſco*

own, and having no peculiar property, being *ſine proprio*, he would tranſgreſs againſt his own inſtitution, finding his own property amongſt the poor. He therefore finds himſelf amongſt the rich, who are not his own, but ſtrangers to Francis. So much does he decline property. Both the inſtitution and habit of Francis is perfect, whilſt he profeſſes nothing. Chriſt was in his habit found a man: *habitu inventus eſt homo*; but Francis in his habit was found to be nothing: *habitu inventus eſt nihil.*

But if Francis is nothing, how comes it that he ſays, *Deus meus, & omnia:* my God and all things. Therefore Francis has with him God and every thing. He twice repeats every thing. Why as God is all in all, does he add *omnia:* It was ſufficient to ſay my god and to leave out *omnia.* No genlemen: conceive the myſtery: God and Francis concur to be all things: God creating all things from nothing, and Francis making nothing out of all things. It belongs to the ſame infinite virtue, and is an effect of equal omnipotence to bring all things out of nothing, and to reduce all things

ceſco facendo niente dal tutto. Appartiene alla medeſima infinita virtù, ed è effetto d'uguale onnipotenza cavar il tutto dal niente, e ridurre al niente il tutto. E' divino Franceſco all'hor ch'il niente participa dell' onnipotenza di Dio: omnia per ipſum facta ſunt. *Due ſono gl'effetti dell'onnipotenza: uno far dal niente tutto, l'altro far dal tutto niente. Dio fece dal niente tutto* omnia per ipſum facta ſunt; *Franceſco fece dal tutto niente,* ad nihilum redactus ſum: *vedete la prova: date à Dio il nulla, crea il tutto; Date il tutto à Franceſco, disfà il tutto in niente. Reſtando ſimile à Dio. Par che peſa una Divinità la ſanta levità di Franceſco, e gareggia con la gloria di levita: Simboliza con Lorenzo.*

Conviene ancora Franceſco con Lorenzo nella virtù ſingolare di far miracoli. Di Lorenzo canta la Chieſa; Per ſignum crucis cæcos illuminavit, *narrando, che*

to nothing. Francis is divine, ſince nothing participates of the omnipotence of God: *omnia per ipſum facta ſunt.* There are two effects of omnipotence, one to make all things of nothing, the other to make nothing of all things. God made all things out of nothing, *omnia per ipſum facta ſunt*; Francis made nothing of all things, *ad nihilum redactus ſum.* Conſider the proof: give God nothing, he will create all things out of it; give all things to Francis, he reduces them to nothing, remaining like a god. It looks as if Francis by his holy levity, was equal in weight with the deity, and he rivalls the glory of the levite: by ſymbols he aggrees with St. Lawrence.

Francis farther reſembles Lawrence in the extraordinary power of working miracles. It is ſung in the church concerning Lawrence; *per ſignum crucis cæcos illuminavit,* relating that by virtue of the ſign of the croſs he reſtor'd ſight to the blind: Francis work'd the ſame miracle, and that to greater advantage, enlightning human eyes that they might ſee the inviſible

che in virtù del ſegno della croce illuminó, e diede la viſta ai ciechi: operó Franceſco il medeſimo miracolo e con vantaggio, illuminando gli occhi humani per vedere Dio inviſibile, in virtu della croce propria, in ſe medeſimo ſtampata, e rappreſentata. Lorenzo dava la viſta, facendo con la mano il ſegno della croce di Chriſto, il di cui effetto era, vedere le coſe viſibili, e create. Franceſco operava che gli mortali fiſſando gli occhi nel ſuo corpo crocefiſſo vedeſſero il medeſimo Dio che in ſe ſteſſo rappreſentava. Formava dal ſuo corpo, ſtendendo le braccia, una viva croce, dimoſtrava le ſtimate delle mani, piedi, e coſtato; & operava che gli occhi humani vedeſſero nella ſua figura Chriſto Dio crocefiſſo, quale eſſendo per ſua natura divina inviſibile: Deum nemo vidit unquam, *ſi vedeva chiaramente improntato, e ſpecchiato in Franceſco cangiato in croce, ſecondo le parole di Giobbe pratticate in Franceſco, che riguardando il ſuo corpo impiagato, e crocefiſſo diceva:* in carne mea videbo deum ſalvatorem meum: *nella mia*

inviſible God in virtue of the real croſs, ſtamp'd and repreſented upon himſelf. Lawrence gave ſight, making with his hand the ſign of the croſs of Chriſt, the effect of which was to ſee things viſible and created. Francis brought matters ſo about, that mortals fixing their eyes upon his crucified body, ſaw the very god whom he repreſented. Extending his arms, he form'd with his body a living croſs, he ſhew'd the five wounds in his hands, feet and ſide; and contriv'd ſo, that human eyes ſaw in his figure Chriſt the ſon of God crucified, who though by his divine nature inviſible: *Deum nemo vidit unquam*, was ſeen plainly repreſented, and, as it were, reflected from a glaſs, in Francis transform'd into a croſs; according to the words of Job verified in Francis, who beholding his wounded and crucified body exclaim'd: *in carne mea videbo*

mia propria carne crocefiſſa, & impiagata vederò il mio Dio Salvatore; chiunque mirerà il corpo di Franceſco trasformato in croce viva, & animata, mirerà il medeſimo Dio eſpreſſo, e rappreſentato in virtù della croce propria, eſſendo Franceſco un'altro Chriſto per transformatione d' amore: vivit verò in me Chriſtus. *In cotal guiſa illumina Franceſco i ciechi mortali, elevandoli, & inalzandoli à vedere il Dio inviſibile & immortale; non già formando il ſegno della croce altrui, come Lorenzo; mà dimoſtrando la croce propria della ſua carne crocefiſſa.* In carne meâ: per ſignum crucis, *confrontandoſi con Lorenzo, mà con vantaggio,* cæcos illuminavit.

Diamo di piglio, Signori, ad un'altra confrontatione più difficile, e più alta, che par piu toſto diſcrepanza, che convenienza. Lorenzo donò i teſori della

videbo deum ſalvatorem meum: in my own crucified and wounded fleſh I ſhall ſee God my Saviour, whoever ſees the body of Francis transform'd into the lively repreſentation of a croſs, ſhall ſee God himſelf expreſs'd and repreſented in virtue of the real croſs, Francis being another Chriſt through the transformation of love: *vivit vero in me Chriſtus.* In this manner Francis illuminates blind mortals, raiſing and exalting them to ſee the inviſible and immortal God; not ſhewing the ſign of another's croſs like Lorenzo, but exhibiting the croſs of his own crucified fleſh. *In carne meâ: per ſignum crucis,* comparing himſelf with Lawrence, but to his own advantage, *cæcos illuminavit.*

Let us now, my worthy auditors, fall upon another compariſon more difficult and more ſublime, which ſeems to be rather a difference than a reſemblance. Lawrence beſtow'd the treaſures of the church upon the poor, *Theſauros eccleſiæ dedit pauperibus.* Now this is a difference, becauſe Francis never was rich, nor beſtow'd treaſures. He profeſs'd extreme poverty, or rather he was poverty itſelf in abſtract, as we have

della Chieſa alli poveri Theſauros eccleſiæ dedit pauperibus. *Hora queſta è una diſcrepanza, perche Franceſco giammai fù ricco nè diſpenſò teſori. Profeſſò, eſtrema povertà anzi fu la medeſima pavertà in aſtratto, come habbiamo detto; come adunque li conviene havere, e diſpenſare teſori della chieſa.* Theſauros eccleſiæ dedit pauperibus? *Habbiate patienza, Signori, e ponderate meco che teſori ſono queſti di Lorenzo. Egli lo dichiaró con parole, e con fatti. La ſua leggenda narra, ch'eſſendo egli ſtato dimandato dal Tiranno dove erano i teſori della Chieſa, ando à cercarli, e conduſſe gli poveri dicendo. Ecco gli teſori della chieſa:* Hi ſunt Theſauri Eccleſiæ. *Adunque i poveri ſono i teſori, e vale tanto il dire teſori della Chieſa, quanto poveri della Chieſa. O bene! ſe queſto è vero, Franceſco e i ſuoi frati ſono teſori, e concorda con Lorenzo. Lorenzo chiama i poveri teſori della chieſa; e Franceſco, ed i ſuoi ſeguaci ſono poveri, adunque ſono teſori. Egli è veriſſimo: periocché i teſori ſono ſervati e racchiuſi nelli ſacchi de' poveri.*

Non

have already obſerv'd; how then could he have and diſpenſe the treaſures of the church? *Theſauros eccleſiæ dedit pauperibus.* Have a little patience, illuſtrious hearers, and conſider with me what treaſures theſe of Lawrence's are. He himſelf declar'd it both by words and deeds. We are inform'd in his legend, that he being aſked by the tyrant where were the treaſures of the church, he went in queſt of them and conducted the poor with him, ſaying, here are the treaſures of the church: *Hi ſunt Theſauri Eccleſiæ.* Therefore the poor are the treaſures, and it is the ſame thing to ſay the treaſures of the church as the poor of the church. Very well, if this be true, Francis and his brethren are treaſures, and he agrees with Lawrence. Lawrence calls the poor treaſures of the church; and Francis and his followers are poor, therefore they are treaſures. This is very true; becauſe treaſures are

Non vedete tanti ſacchi nella Famiglia di Franceſco? Ecco altri tanti teſori. Nel ſacco di Benjamino fratello minore, ſi ritrovò il teſoro di Giceſeppe: inventus eſt in ſacco Benjamin. *Volete ritrovare i teſori della Chieſa? andate à ritrovare i figli di Franceſco, i frati minori, e ritroverete i teſori: tanti ſacchi, tanti teſori* in Sacco Franciſci, *figurato in Benjamino fratello minore: più altamente, e piamente lo provo: ditemi, Signori chriſtiani, Chriſto non è povero,* pauper ſum Ego? *Non è egli pur trasformato in poveri? Certo:* quod uni ex minimis meis feciſtis, mihi feciſtis. *Adeſſo Chriſto non è forſe teſoro, ſomma, e mucchio de' teſori?* In quo ſunt omnes Theſauri, *dice ſan Paolo. Quindi è che per buona conſequenza li poveri ſono teſori. Quanti poveri, tanti Chriſti, e tanti Chriſti, tanti teſori; tutti figli di Franceſco eſſendo poveri, ſono Chriſti; ed eſſendo Chriſti ſono teſori: & hor appariſce*

preſerv'd and ſhut up in the ſacks of the poor. Don't you ſee ſo many ſacks in the family of Francis? Behold an equal number of treaſures. In the ſack of Benjamin the younger brother, was found the treaſure of Joſeph: *inventus eſt in ſacco Benjamin.* Are you deſirous of again finding the treaſures of the church? Go in ſearch of the ſons of Francis, the friars minor, you will find the treaſures, ſo many ſacks, ſo many treaſures *in ſacco Franciſci,* repreſented by Benjamin the younger brother. I prove it ſtill more ſtrongly and more fully: tell me, my chriſtian brethren, is not Chriſt poor, *pauper ſum Ego?* Is he not transform'd into the poor? Doubtleſs, he is, *quod uni ex minimis meis feciſtis, mihi feciſtis.* Now is not Chriſt a treaſure, a ſum, a heap of accumulated treaſures? *In quo ſunt omnes Theſauri,* ſays St. Paul. Hence it follows by a juſt conſequence, that the poor are treaſures. As many as there are of the poor, ſo many Chriſts are there, and as many Chriſts as there are, ſo many treaſures; all the ſons of Francis being poor are Chriſts; and being Chriſts are treaſures:

appariſce la concordanza di Lorenzo con Franceſco. Conſiderate la prerogativa di Franceſco. Gli altri fondatori delle Religioni fondano Ordini di Chriſto; ma Franceſco fondò un ordine de Chriſti, in virtù della povertà: tanti poveri, tanti Chriſti. Oſſervate la fecondità della povertà. Iddio generò un Chriſto Dio per divinità, Unigenito del Padre, e per l'humanità unigenito della madre; & é un ſolo figlio unigenito, un Chriſto: mà la povertà poté generare molti Chriſti per virtù della transformatione. Riguardatene un' altra: quandò ſpartite, e donate i voſtri teſori à i poveri, non perdete, anzi guadagnate teſori di valuta immortale: Theſauziate in cælo. *Saccheggiare le voſtre ricchezze per darle a' poveri è inſaccarle per inferirle nel cielo; conſegnarle in mano de' poveri, é trasferirle al teſoro celeſtiale. Lo aſſeriſce Lorenzo* in cæleſtes theſauros manus pauperum

treaſures: and now appears the agreement of Lawrence with Francis. Conſider the prerogative of Francis. Other founders of religious ſocieties found orders of Chriſtians, but Francis founded an order of Chriſts in virtue of their poverty: ſo many poor, ſo many Chriſts. Obſerve the prolific nature of poverty. God begat a Chriſt, who on account of the divinity of his nature, is only begotten of the Father, and on account of his humanity is begotten of his mother; and he is one only begotten ſon, one Chriſt: but poverty might give birth to many Chriſts in virtue of transformation. Take another circumſtance into conſideration: when you beſtow your treaſure upon the poor and divide it amongſt them, you are no looſers thereby, on the contrary, you gain treaſures of immortal value: *Theſaurizate in cælo.* To empty your treaſures, in order to give them to the poor, is the ſame thing with laying them up, in order to depoſit them in heaven; to put them into the hands of the poor, is conſigning them to the celeſtial treaſury. This Lawrence affirms, *in cæleſtes theſauros manus pauperum deportaverunt.* Treaſures do not periſh when they

perum deportaverunt. *Non periſcono i teſori all' hora che ſi mettono in queſti ſacchi de' poveri Franciſcani, anzi ſi guardano, ſi conſervano, s'immortalano.*

Diſcorriamo però, Signori, ſopra il punto principale, cioé il martirio di Lorenzo: tanto proprio ſuo, che pare non poter appropriarſi à Franceſco. Il fuoco di Lorenzo fu fuoco eſaminatore igne me examinaſti: *ancor noi eſaminiamo queſto fuoco. Apparíſcono diſcrepanze manifeſte. Lorenzo fu abbruggiato in carne, e per violenza altrui, veriſſimo martire di Chriſto.* Laurentius ingreſſus eſt martyr. *Franceſco, ſecondo San Bonaventura, non patì martirio di fuoco in carne,* non per martiryum carnis, *né con violenza. Onde ſono capitali diſcrepanze. E' vero che Franceſco non fu martire di corpo, bensì di Spirito:* ô martyr deſiderio *diſſe il medeſimo Bonaventura, non per opera di martirio corporale, má d' incendio ſpirituale,* per incendium mentis. *Hebbe il martirio*

they are put into the bags of the poor Franciſcans, on the contrary they are kept, they are preſerv'd, they are render'd immortal.

Let us now, my worthy auditors, ſpeak of the principal article, that is, the martyrdom of Lawrence: which is ſo peculiar to him, that it does not appear poſſible to appropriate it to Francis. The fire of Lawrence was a ſearching and examining fire, *igne me examinaſti:* let us likewiſe examine this fire. There appear manifeſt differences. Lawrence was burn'd in the fleſh, and by the violence of others, a true martyr of Jeſus Chriſt. *Laurentius ingreſſus eſt martyr.* Francis, according to St. Bonaventure, did not ſuffer the martyrdom of fire in the fleſh, *non per martiryum carnis,* nor by violence. Whence ariſe capital differences. It is true Francis was not a martyr in the body but in the ſpirit: *ô martyr deſiderio* ſaid the ſame Bonaventura, not through the operation of bodily martyrdom, but of ſpiritual burning, *per incendium mentis.*

He

martirio in voto *per desiderio*; *e come il battesimo* in voto *supplisce il battesimo reale, così anche il martirio* in voto *in certo modo può dirsi che uguaglia il martirio reale: quanto più che Francesco si procacciò il martirio reale davanti il Soldano, e provocò il fuoco materiale, e non mancò egli al martirio, ma à lui mancò il martirio. Lorenzo diedé il corpo al fuoco, e Francesco l' anima, diventando martire di Spirito, all'hora che non poteva patir martirio corporale. Nel resto convien con Lorenzo: questo patì nella graticola, e croce e fuoco. Francesco nella impressione delle stimate patì similmente, e fuoco e croce. La graticola era composta di ferri traversati, e posti in croce, dove Lorenzo era abbruggiato e crocefisso diventando simile à Francesco impiagato nella croce, ed infiammato dal fuoco di Serafino. Era uno il fuoco & una la piaga di Lorenzo, e le croci moltiplicate ne i ferri della graticola: era però una la croce*

He underwent martyrdom *in voto* by desiring it; and as baptism *in voto* supplies the want of real baptism, in the same manner martyrdom *in voto* is in some measure equivalent to real martyrdom: the more as Francis exposed himself to real martyrdom before the Sultan, and provok'd real fire, insomuch that he cannot be said to have been wanting to martyrdom, but martyrdom to have been wanting to him. Lawrence gave his body to the fire, and Francis his soul, becoming a spiritual martyr, when it was not in his power to suffer real martyrdom. In other particulars he agrees with Lawrence: the latter suffered upon the gridiron both the cross and the fire. Francis by the impression of the five wounds suffered in like manner both fire and cross. The gridiron was compos'd of iron bars laid across one another, and placed in the form of a cross, upon which Lawrence was burn'd and crucified, becoming like Francis wounded upon the cross, and inflam'd by seraphic fire. The fire of Lawrence was one and the wound one, but the crosses were multiplied in the bars

croce di Franceſco, et uno il fuoco dell' amore, e moltiplicate le piaghe. Lorenzo in molte croci haveva una piaga. Franceſco molte piaghe in una croce: diſtillavaſi il corpo di Lorenzo come cera fina per illuſtrar il mondo con luce divina; abbrugiavaſi Franceſco come il Serafino per inſiammar il mondo con fuoco di Serafino. Era inſtromento della paſſione di Lorenzo l'odio dell' inimico inhumano; e di Franceſco, l'amore di Dio humanato. Era tormentato Lorenzo con peccato altrui. Franceſco impiagato con grazie d'iddio- Volgevaſi, e rivolgevaſi Lorenzo nelle croci della ſua graticola: verſa; *e Franceſco ſtava fiſſo, e inchiodato nella ſua croce. Lorenzo porgeva la carne ſua in cibo:* manduca. *Franceſco eſibiva il ſuo ſangue in bevanda, e dell' uno, e dell' altro riſultava un' imagine del Sacrificio dell' Eucariſtia. Lorenzo improperava i carnefici:* miniſtrantibus prunas inſultat. *Franceſco amoreggiava i ſtampatori delle ſtimate:*

bars of the gridiron: the croſs of Francis was one, and his fire of love was one, but his wounds were multiplied. Lawrence in many croſſes had one wound. Francis had many wounds on one croſs: the body of Lawrence melted like fine wax, to illuminate the world by divine light; Francis burn'd like the raptured Seraph, to inflame the world with ſeraphic fire. The hatred of the enemy of mankind, was inſtrumental in the ſufferings of Lawrence; the love of God made man, was productive of thoſe of Francis. Lawrence was tormented by the ſin of others, Francis was wounded by the grace of God. Lawrence writh'd and turned himſelf upon the croſſes of his gridiron: *verſa*; and Francis ſtood motionleſs and nail'd to his croſs. Lawrence gave his fleſh as food: *manduca*. Francis gave up his blood for drink, and from one and the other, there reſulted an emblem of the ſacrifice of the Euchariſt. Lawrence reproach'd his executioners: *miniſtrantibus prunas inſultat*. Francis loved thoſe who imprinted the marks of the five wounds upon him: *in medio eorum qui dilegebant me*.

Lawrence

ſtimate: in medeo eorum qui diligebant me. *Lorenzo ſciolto e libero nella graticola dava ſalti d'allegrezza: Franceſco col corpo ritto, braccia diſteſe, nervi tirati, e coſtato aperto in guiſa di Citara, ſonava, e cantava con armonia. Lorenzo anhelava Chriſto, Franceſco avvampava di Chriſto. Lorenzo voleva rapire il Cielo, Franceſco voleva rapir Chriſto. Viveva Lorenzo per morire in Chriſto, e Franceſco moriva per viver in Chriſto*; vivit in me Chriſtus. *E' finito l'eſame, e ſono convenienze, e ſono differenze, ma fanno trà di loro una concorde armonia. Fuor dell' eſſame oſſervo che Franceſco due volte patì fuoco, l'una per ſmorzar il fuoco ſenſuale, abbruggiando il corpo per cuſtodir la gratia ſpirituale, l' altra per curar la malatia naturale. Sentì il primo fuoco, ma non ſenti il ſecondo: il primo era d'Eſſame come quello di Lorenzo, con cui diceva Franceſco:* Igne me examinaſti, & non eſt inventa in me iniquitas, *diventò*

Lawrence unbound and at liberty upon the gridiron, leaped with joy: Francis with his body erect, his arms extended, his nerves ſtrech'd, and his breaſt open in the form of a cithern, play'd and ſung with the utmoſt harmony. Lawrence breath'd Chriſt, Francis flam'd forth Chriſt. Lawrence aim'd at taking heaven by ſtorm, Francis at taking Chriſt by force. Lawrence liv'd to die in Chriſt, and Francis died to live in Chriſt: *vivit in me Chriſtus*. Thus have I concluded my examination, from which it appears that theſe two Saints agree in ſome circumſtances and differ in others, but they in the main conſtitute a moſt harmonious agreement. I remark out of the examination, that Francis twice ſuffer'd by fire, once to quench his ſenſual flames, burning his body to preſerve ſpiritual grace, and a ſecond time to cure his natural malady. He felt the firſt fire, but he did not feel the ſecond: the firſt was a fire of tryal like that of Lawrence, with whom Francis ſaid: *igne me examinaſti, & non eſt inventa in me iniquitas*, he became purified, and pure of every ſenſual blemiſh: thus he became

diventò purificato, e puro d'ogni macchia ſenſuale: riuſcì ſimile anzi uguale à Lorenzo: ma nel ſecondo fuoco ſi dimoſtrò Franceſco ſingolare e per dirlo così, Superiore; Aſcoltate. Lorenzo nel fuoco ſentì dolore, e patì tormento; ma Franceſco nel ſecondo fuoco non patì tormento, nè dolore. Perche? Franceſco ch' era tutto fuoco, e amore di Dio, era fuoco di centro, che non s'infiamma, nè s'abbruggia. Era, Signori miei, il centro del fuoco Franceſco: e il centro non puo patire d' altro fuoco. Il primo fuoco di Franceſco fu fuoco d'eſame, il ſecondo di centro. Perciò il Serafino tutto fuoco e per natura fuoco, ſcende dal Cielo e viene à cercar Franceſco come centro, impercioche ritrovò in Franceſco più fuoco che nella ſua sfera di Serafino. Era ghiaccio il Serafino paragonato à Francefco: udite la prova. Moveſi il Serafino, e ſcende al luoco di Franceſco. Franceſco non ſi muove, e ſtà fermo centro di fuoco. Svolazzando viene il Serafino, e cerca il maggior fuoco di Franceſco, per fermarſi

became like or rather equal to Lawrence; but in the ſecond fire Francis ſignalis'd himſelf, and, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, ſhew'd himſelf ſuperior: give attention: Lawrence in the fire felt pain and ſuffer'd torment; but Francis in the ſecond fire neither ſuffer'd torment nor pain. Why? Francis was all fire, and divine love, he was the central fire, which neither is inflam'd nor conſum'd. Francis, my worthy auditors, was the centre of the fire; and the centre cannot ſuffer by any other flames. Francis's firſt fire was of tryal, his ſecond a central flame. Therefore the Seraphim that is all fire, and of a fiery nature, deſcends from heaven and ſeeks Francis as his centre, becauſe he found more fire in Francis than in his ſeraphic ſphere. The Seraphim was ice when compar'd to Francis: liſten to the proof of this. The ſeraphim moves and deſcends into St. Francis's place. Francis does not move, but ſtands like a motionleſs fiery centre. The Seraphim deſcends fluttering, and ſeeks the largeſt fire of

fermaſi nel ſuo naturale centro, qual' è Franceſco: ma eſſaminiamo più il miſtero, poiche trattiamo di fuoco d'eſſame. Mi occorrono, Signori, due ragioni convenevoli perche il fuoco non abbruggiò Franceſco: prima; perche Franceſco era cenere per habito, e profeſſione; e la cenere cuſtodiſce il fuoco, e non patiſce dal fuoco; la ſeconda, e più aggiuſtata; perche Franceſco viveva dentro del fuoco in guiſa di Salamandra. Rammentate, Signori, l'iſtoria. Franceſco per ſmorzar l'ardore della concupiſcenza s'aventò e gittò nelle nevi, e abbracciò il ghiaccio; ſpoſando le nevi, diventò neve: erunt duo in carne una: erunt duo in nive una; *dunque Franceſco reſtò trasformato in neve, e ridotto à ghiaccio animato; onde quale Salamandra, coſi viveva & habitava nel fuoco, anzi l'eſtingueva, e ſmorzava; veramente neve candida ripoſta nel teſoro di Dio; quale, come dice Giobbe, tiene nel Cielo* Theſauros nivis, *teſori di neve, di*

of Francis, in order to ſtop at his natural centre, which is Francis: but let us make a farther diſquiſition into this myſtery, ſince we are treating of fire of examination and tryal. To me, gentlemen, there occur two cauſes why the fire did not burn Francis: firſt, becauſe Francis was aſhes by habit and by profeſſion; now aſhes preſerve the fire inſtead of ſuffering by it: the ſecond is more adequate; becauſe Francis liv'd in the fire like a ſalamander. Do but recollect the hiſtory, gentlemen. Francis in order to cool the heat of his concupiſcence, leap'd into the ſnow and embrac'd the ice; eſpouſing the ſnow, he became ſnow himſelf: *erunt duo in carne unâ: erunt duo in nive unâ*; there will be two in one fleſh, there will be two in one ſnow; therefore Francis remain'd metamorphos'd into ſnow, and reduc'd to animated ice; inſomuch that he liv'd in the fire and inhabited it like a ſalamander, or rather he quench'd and put it out; being truly white ſnow, laid up in the treaſury of God; which, as Job ſays, holds in Heaven, *theſauros nivis*, treaſures of ſnow, of

di purità, e verginità; quale è Franceſco Vergine di corpo, e anima, quale ancora é ſtato Lorenzo, avendo ritrovato il ſuo pari in Franceſco. Ambi due hebbero il medeſimo fine, e il medeſimo effetto. Di ſan Lorenzo dice Agoſtino: Illuminavit mundum Laurentius igne quo ipſe accenſus eſt, & flammis quas pertulit, Chriſtianorum corda calefecit; *venne Lorenzo ad illuminare il mondo, e ad infiammare i cuori de' fedeli; altresì Franceſco ſecondo le parole della chieſa nella ſua oratione delle ſtimate:* Domine Jeſu Chriſte qui frigeſcente mundo, ad inflammandum corda noſtra tui amoris igne, in carne beatiſſimi Franciſci Paſſionis tuæ ſacra ſtigmata renovaſti. *Venne Franceſco per il medeſimo fine, e per il medeſimo effetto che Lorenzo; ambidue gareggiano del pari nella virtù e nelli effetti. Poteva eſſer qualcheduno fenice ſe foſſe ſolo;*

of purity and virginity; ſuch as is Francis, a virgin in body and ſoul, ſuch as was Lawrence, having met with his match in Francis. Both had the ſame end and the ſame effect. St. Auguſtin ſays of St. Lawrence: *illuminavit mundum Laurentius igne quo ipſe accenſus eſt, & flammis quas pertulit, Chriſtianorum corda calefecit:* Lawrence enlighten'd the world with the fire, wherewith he himſelf was burn'd, and with the flames which he underwent, he warm'd the hearts of Chriſtians: in like manner, Francis according to the words of the church, in the prayer concerning the five wounds: *Domine Jeſu Chriſte qui frigeſcente mundo, ad inflammandum corda noſtra tui amoris igne, in carne beatiſſimi Franciſci Paſſionis tuæ ſacra ſtigmata renovaſti.* "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who when the world grew cold, in order to inflame our hearts with the fire of thy love, didſt renew the ſacred marks of thy paſſion, upon the fleſh of the ever bleſſed Francis." Francis came to the ſame end, and in the ſame effect with Lawrence; they rival each other in virtue and noble deeds. Either of them might be conſider'd as a Phænix by himſelf; but as the Phænix is fabulous,

ſolo; ma eſſendo favola la fenice, è meglio che ſiano due pari come perle e unioni del Paradiſo.

Un' altra nobile e notabile convenienza mi ſuggeriſce l'Antifona quarta del Santo: Miſit Dominus Angelum ſuum, & liberavit me de medio ignis & non ſum æſtuatus, *narrando che un' Angelo ſceſe dal Cielo et entrato nel fuoco della graticola accompagnò Lorenzo, e lo rinfreſcò, acciocche non s'abbruggiaſſe. Angelo lo chiama la Chieſa, per confrontarlo coll' Angelo Seraſico di Franceſco, che nell' ardente impreſſione delle ſtimate, s'aventò à Franceſco improntandoli le piaghe. Uno et altro Angelo par che foſſe il medeſimo Chriſto ſotto la ſpecie d'Angelo; & ad uno & all' altro, à Lorenzo & à Franceſco apparve. Come appunto nella fornace di Babilonia ſi ritrovò il figlio di Dio nelle fiamme frà i tre Giovani Ebrei ſecondo la Scrittura:* Species quarti ſimilis Filio Dei. *Ma oſſervo il miſtero.*

bulous, it is fitter they ſhould be conſider'd as pearls; as unions of paradiſe.

Another noble and ſtriking agreement is ſuggeſted to me, by the fourth antiphony of the ſaint: *Miſit Dominus angelum ſuum, & liberavit me de medio ignis & non ſum æſtuatus*, God ſent his angel and deliver'd me out of the midſt of the fire, and I was not burn'd, relating that an angel deſcended from heaven, and having enter'd the fire of the gridiron, attended Lawrence and cool'd him, that he might not be burn'd. The church calls him an angel to confront him with the ſeraphic angel of Francis, who when the five burning wounds were impreſs'd, flew to Francis and mark'd the five wounds upon his fleſh. It appears that both one and t'other of theſe angels was Chriſt himſelf, in the ſhape of an angel; and he was viſible to both one and t'other of the ſaints, to Lawrence and to Francis. Juſt as in the furnace at Babylon, the ſon of God appear'd in the flames, amidſt the three young Hebrews, according to that paſſage of ſcripture: *Species quarti ſimilis filio dei*, the fourth is like unto the ſon of God. But I re-

tero. L'Angelo di Lorenzo lo ajuta, alleggerisce, e rinfresca ne æstuaret, *accioche non arda,* & non sum æstuatus. *All' incontro l'Angelo Seraſino di Franceſco lo impiaga, infiamma, e crocifigge trà le fiamme di fuoco ardente: quello adunque rinfreſca, queſto infiamma: quello alleggeriſce, queſto affligge: quello fomenta, queſto tormenta. Sono Angeli ſimili, overo il medeſimo Angelo: e ſono gli effetti diverſi L'Angelo di Lorenzo è ſomigliante a quell' altro della fornace di Babilonia, che refrigerava, e rinfreſcava i Giovani Santi Ebrei,* Fecit medium fornacis quaſi ventum roris flantem, *per alleggerire il tormento, e temperar gli ardori. L'Angelo di Franceſco par ſomigliante à quell' altro dell' horto di Gethſemani che apparve à Chriſto col Calice della Paſſione in mano, eſſortandolo a beverlo, ed à patire la morte della croce: eſſendo diverſi gli officii, era uno il fine e l'effetto. Rinfreſcava il primo, tormentava il ſecondo; con tutto*

mark the myſtery. The angel of Lawrence aſſiſts him, raiſes his ſpirits, and cools him, *ne æſtuaret,* leſt he ſhould be burn'd, & *non ſum æſtuatus,* and I was not burn'd. On the contrary, the angelic ſeraphim of Francis wounds, inflames and crucifies him, amidſt the flames of burning fire: the former therefore cools, the latter inflames: the former inſpires chearfulneſs, the latter afflicts: the former cheriſhes, the latter torments. They are angels that reſemble each other, or rather the ſame angel, yet their effects are different. The angel of Lawrence reſembles that of the furnace in Babylon, who cool'd and refreſh'd the young Hebrew ſaints, *fecit medium fornacis quaſi ventum roris flantem,* he made the middle of the furnace as it were a cooling breeze, to alleviate their torments, and allay the heats. The angel of Francis appears to reſemble the angel that appear'd at the garden of Gethſemani to Chriſt, with the chalice of the paſſion in his hand, exhorting him to drink it and to ſuffer the death of the croſs: their offices being different, their end and effect

was

tutto ciò il fine di tutti due era alleggerire, e confortare; imperciocchè la Scrittura dice dell' Angelo, che porgeva à Chriſto il calice della Paſſione: Confortans eum, *veniva dunque à confortare, non à tormentare. Ma come può ſtare che mezzi tanto diverſi foſſero ordinati al medeſimo fine? L'Angelo della fornace confortava, rinfreſcava & alleggeriva, l'Angelo dell' horto affligeva, e tormentava col calice della Paſſione: come dunque potevano per ſuo fine confortar & alleggerire? La ragione è, perche Chriſto haveva il tormento per gloria, e perciò era confortato col calice del patimento. I tre Giovani della fornace ſtimavano l'ardore tormento, e così richiedevano il refrigerio e rinfreſco. Chriſto bramava il patire, e ſi dilettava con la Paſſione, che ſtimava eſſer facile, e dolce bevanda:* Calicem; *in guiſa tale che non ſi ſatiava di patire nella croce dicendo:* Sitio, *e poneva la ſodisfatione e gloria nel tormento:* Factus in agonia *che fu l'effetto del*

was the ſame. The firſt cool'd, the ſecond tormented; the deſign of both notwithſtanding, was to inſpire chearfulneſs and comfort, therefore the ſcripture tells us that the angel that offer'd the chalice of the paſſion to Chriſt: *confortans eum*, comforting him, came to comfort and not to torment him. But how is it poſſible, that means ſo different, ſhould be calculated to promote the ſame end? The angel in the furnace comforted, refreſh'd and alleviated, the angel in the garden afflicted and tormented with the chalice of the paſſion: how then could the purpoſe of both be to comfort and alleviate afflictions: the reaſon is, that Chriſt look'd upon torment as glory, and was therefore comforted with the chalice of ſuffering. The three young men in the fiery furnace, look'd upon burning as torment, and therefore they pray'd to be cool'd. Chriſt wiſh'd to ſuffer, and delighted in his paſſion, which he conſider'd as an eaſy and agreeable draught: *calicem*; inſomuch that he was not ſatiated with ſuffering upon the croſs, ſaying: *Sitio*, and his torment was a glory and ſa-

del conforto angelico Confortatus ſum: *all' incontro quelli trè giovani della fornace, havendo l'ardore per tormento, richiedevano il rimedio del rinfreſco, perche pativano nel fuoco, penavano negli amori. Andiamo alla graticola di Lorenzo, ed alla croce di Franceſco. Perciò à Lorenzo apparve l'Angelo per rinfreſcarlo, e liberarlo dal tormento,* Liberavit me? *Perche pativa dal fuoco nella graticola. Franceſco nella croce trà le ſtimate, e piaghe patiſce, ma ſtima gloria il patire. Perciò il Seraſino l'affigge, e tormenta. Anzi più: Franceſco non ſolamente haveva il patire per gloria, ma etiamdiò per natura. Erano naturali à Franceſco la croce e le piaghe; reſtò ſtimatizato con piaghe della propria carne, e inchiodato in croce propria, con chiodi naturali, impiagato dà ſe ſteſſo, crocefiſſo dà ſe medeſimo; il Seraſino non gli preſtò la croce, e nemeno i chiodi: Franceſco diventó croce naturale,*

tisfaction to him: *factus in agoniâ*, being come to the agony which was the effect of the angelic comfort, *confortatus ſum:* on the contrary, the three young men of the furnace conſidering heat as torment, requeſted the remedy of cooling, becauſe they ſuffer'd in fire and were tormented, whilſt they lov'd. Let us return to the gridiron of Lawrence, and the croſs of Francis. Why did the angel appear to Lawrence, to cool him and deliver him from his torments, *liberavit me?* He freed me. Becauſe he ſuffer'd by the fire upon the gridiron. Francis ſuffers upon the croſs, by the five wounds, but he conſiders his ſuffering as glory. Therefore the ſeraphim afflicts and torments him. We may add, that Francis not only look'd upon his ſuffering as glorious, but it was even become congenial to his nature. The croſs and the wounds were natural to Francis; he remain'd mark'd with the wounds of his own fleſh, and nail'd upon his own croſs with natural nails, being wounded by himſelf, and crucify'd in the ſame manner; the ſeraphim neither gave him the croſs, nor even the nails: Francis became a natural croſs, without any other croſs,

naturale, ſenza croce altrui con chiodi formati dalla carne naturale, inchiodato ſenza violenza, ne ferro; il Seraſino portava croce di legno e chiodi di ferro, mà Franceſco da ſe medeſimo formó la croce, e li chiodi, diventando croce, e crocefiſſo glorioſo per morire in croce, Mihi autem abſit gloriari niſi in cruce, *vivendo nella morte, e morendo nella vita. Chriſto morì nella croce, e ſolamente viſſe trè ore nel tormento; e Franceſco viſſe crocefiſſo due anni intieri per eſſergli naturale la croce, e il tormento. Quindi è la differenza trà Lorenzo, e Franceſco; che Lorenzo reſtó liberato, e Franceſco crocefiſſo.*

Mentre tutti due gareggiano nel patire, l'uno nella graticola, l'altro nella croce; parmi, che voi, Signori, come acuti, e critici, v'ingegnate à farmi un argomento contro la conformità delli medeſimi Lorenzo, e Franceſco, dicendo così: Padre mio, concordate una diſcrepanza che pare impoſſibile à confrontarſi. Lorenzo

croſs, with nails form'd of his natural fleſh, being nail'd without violence or iron; the ſeraphim carried a wooden croſs and nails of iron, but Francis made the croſs himſelf, and the nails becoming a croſs, and being crucified, gloried in dying upon the croſs, *mihi autem abſit gloriari niſi in cruce,* let me never glory, except in the croſs, living in death and dying in life. Chriſt died upon the croſs and liv'd only three hours in torment; and Francis liv'd two whole years crucified, becauſe the croſs and torment were become natural to him. Hence ariſes the difference between Lawrence and Francis; that Lawrence remain'd at liberty and Francis was crucified.

Whilſt they rival each other in ſuffering, one on the grid-iron, the other upon the croſs; I think that you my worthy auditors, as acute and critical perſonages are going to make an exception againſt the conformity of theſe ſame ſaints Lawrence and Francis in theſe terms: my good father reconcile an inconſiſtency, which it appears to me almoſt impoſ-

Lorenzo è Spagnuolo, e Franceſco d'altra natione, cioè Italiano: come dunque concordano? Potrei ben riſpondere ch' io non tratto di convenienza di natura ne di natione, mà di concordanza delle virtù, e gratie. Apporto un argomento nuovo in contrario per li Franceſi, imperciochè Franceſco, ſecondo la ſua leggenda, ſi chiamò Franceſco, per aver imparato preſto, e quaſi miracoloſamente la lingua Franceſe. Nondimeno affermo che Franceſco puol eſſere Spagnuolo; e riſpondo che conviene à Franceſco l'eſſere Spagnuolo per quattro giuſtiſſime ragioni. Prima, per il ſito della Spagna dove ſi pone, e muore il ſole: figura di Chriſto croceſiſſo in cui è trasformato Franceſco ſtimatizato. Il ponente è proprio di Franceſco, ſempre contrario al levante. Levante nó, cadente per humiltà, ſenza l'alterigia di levante. Seconda, per la devotione della natione Spagnuola verſo Franceſco e ſuo ordine Franceſcano. Terza, perche la Spagna

ſible to colour. Lawrence is a Spaniard and Francis is of another nation, that is, an Italian: how do they agree? I might very well anſwer, that I do not treat of agreement with regard to nature or nation, but of agreement in virtues and graces. I on the contrary alledge a new argument in favour of the French; Francis according to his legend, was called Francis, becauſe he ſuddenly, and, as it were by a miracle, learned the French language. I notwithſtanding affirm, that Francis may be a Spaniard; and I make anſwer that four good reaſons may be alledg'd why Francis ſhould be a Spaniard. Firſt, on account of the ſituation of Spain, where the ſun ſets: which is typical of Chriſt crucified, into whom, Francis being mark'd with the five wounds was tranſform'd. Sun ſet is peculiar to Francis, always contrary to its riſing. Not riſing but ſetting through humility, without arrogantly pretending to riſe. Secondly on account of the devotion of the Spaniſh nation to Francis and the Franciſcan order. Thirdly, becauſe Spain has found means to make

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Spagna ha trovato il modo di far grandi i minori di Franceſco; facendo Grande di Spagna i loro generali. Quarta, perche i Generali ſucceſſori di Franceſco, oſſervanti, da certo tempo in quà ſono ſempre Spagnuoli, o nativi, o vaſſalli di Spagna. Queſte ragioni convincono l'eſſer Franceſco Spagnuolo ſimile à Lorenzo. All' argomento nuovo della lingua Franceſe, riſpondo, che Franceſco ritrovò nelli ſuoi teſori de' frati poveri una lingua prezioſiſſima, gloria ineſtimabile Spagnuola, cioè la lingua immortale del Santo, che parlava tutte le lingue, eſſendo una, e ſola portogheſe, era un teſoro, di tutte perche parlava in tutte le lingue, ed era inteſo da tutte le nazioni. Vengo peró alla principal ragione, Signori, ed é la ſeguente: aſcoltatemi attenti. Eſſendo nella Chieſa militante molti capitani, e condottieri di militia, e ſoldateſca ſpirituale inſtituita contro i trè nemici dell' huomo mondo, diavolo, e carne, non vi è eſercito più forte, e numeroſo che quello glorioſo capitano, e condottiere

the poor Franciſcan friars great; raiſing their generals to the rank of grandees of Spain. Fourthly, becauſe the general ſucceſſors to Francis, of the congregation of obſervants, have for ſome time paſt been Spaniards, that is either natives or vaſſals of Spain. Theſe reaſons convince me, that Francis was a Spaniard as well as Lawrence. To the new argument relative to the French language, I anſwer, that Francis found in his treaſures of poor brethren a moſt precious language, an ineſtimable Spaniſh jewel, that is to ſay, the immortal language of the ſaint, who ſpoke all languages, being the one Portugueſe language alone, it was a treaſure of all, becauſe he ſpoke in all languages, and was underſtood by all nations. I now come to the chief reaſon, gentlemen, and it is as follows: liſten attentively. There being in the church militant, many captains and leaders of the troops, and ſpiritual ſoldiery rais'd againſt the three enemies of man, the world, the devil, and the fleſh, there is no army ſtronger

condottiere Franceſco. Queſti lo governa al modo Spagnuolo. Tra tutti gli altri condottieri egli ſolo guerreggia in guiſa di Spagnuolo, e forma eſercito de' Soldati Spagnuoli. Gli altri condottieri pratticano diverſe militie e di differenti nazioni: mà Franceſco profeſſa la militia Spagnuola: penetrate la raggione: la militia Franceſe pone la ſua forza principale nella Cavalleria, l'Italiana nell' unione de' cavalli e fanti, la Spagnuola fà il ſuo capitale delli fanti, e fantaria, e ſchiera pedoni nella campagna, e coſtoro ſono i nervi del ſuo eſercito: per mezzo loro hà atterriti ed atterrati potentiſſimi Re, e fortiſſimi capitane e numeroſiſſimi eſerciti; queſta é la militia di Franceſco tutta fantaria, ſenza fantaſia, tutta di pedoni: ſchiera fanti pedeſtri, guerreggia à piedi, e vince. Schierate, Signori, le altre militie, in tutte ritroverete cavalli, cavalieri, carri, e carrozze, ó ſiano Benidittini, ó Domenicani, ó Agoſtiniani, o Carmelitani,

and more numerous than that of the glorious captain and leader Francis. He commands them in the Spaniſh manner. Of all leaders he alone makes war, according to the Spaniſh manner, and forms an army of Spaniſh ſoldiers. Other leaders carry on war, according to different methods and the cuſtoms of different nations: but Francis profeſſes the Spaniſh warfare: penetrate the reaſon of this: the French armies place their chief ſtrength in their cavalry, the Italian in the union of their horſe and foot, the Spaniards lay their chief ſtreſs upon their infantry, and draw out foot ſoldiers in the plain, and theſe are the nerves and ſinews of their army: by their means they have ſubdu'd and humbled the moſt powerful kings, the moſt valiant generals and the moſt numerous armies; ſuch is the ſoldiery of Francis, all infantry, 'tis not a meer fancy, they are all foot ſoldiers: they draw out foot ſoldiers, they fight on foot and conquer. Draw out other armies in battle array, gentlemen, in them all you will find horſe, horſemen, cars and coaches, whether they be Benedictines

litani, e con loro, tutti i chierici regolari: ſolo i Franciſcani tutti ſono fanti ſenza cavalli, ne cavalieri: Non debent equitare. *Per regola, per inſtituto tutta la militia è fantaria, non vi trovarete un Cavallo, ne Carozze, ne cavalieri: è dunque Franceſco condottiere Spagnuolo, ed i ſuoi religioſi fanti nella militia di fantaria; e quindi ſi conchiude, che è ſimile à Lorenzo veramente Spagnuolo.*

Habbiamo, Signori, concordati Lorenzo, e Franceſco. Reſta a fare la combinatione delle Monache con ſan Lorenzo, e ſan Franceſco, acciò reſti compita la confrontatione, quale è pur difficile, e non volgare. S'io foſſi Filoſofo nominale, me ne ſpedirei con dire, che Monache ſi chiamano di San Lorenzo, e rimetterei la prova al nome: ma io ſono de' reali: ancora che foſſi de' nominali, non averei ſodisfatto all' argomento; perche le Monache di ſan Lorenzo non hanno niente commune ne di nome ne di cognome con

tines or Dominicans, Auguſtins or Carmelites, and with them all the regular clergy: the Franciſcans alone are all foot ſoldiers without horſe or horſemen: *non debent equitare,* they muſt not ride. By their rule and the laws of their inſtitution, the whole ſoldiery is infantry, you will not find amongſt them, either a horſe, coaches or horſemen; Francis is therefore a Spaniſh leader, and his friars are foot ſoldiers, who engage on foot; hence it is concluded, that he reſſembles Lawrence, who was a real Spaniard.

Thus, gentlemen, have we reconcil'd Lawrence and Francis. It remains for us to compare the nuns with St. Lawrence and St. Francis, that the parallel may be compleat, which is very difficult and not common. Were I one of thoſe Philoſophers, who are ſtiled Nominaliſts, I ſhould content myſelf with ſaying that they are call'd nuns of St. Lawrence, and I ſhould leave the proof to the name; but I am of the oppoſite ſchool, a Realiſt: and even if I was a Nominaliſt, I ſhould not thereby give a ſatisfactory anſwer; becauſe the nuns of St. Lawrence

con ſan Franceſco, e voi mi domandate la confrontatione con tutti dui: io mi trovo inchiodato e inviluppato. Procurerò ingegnarmi in maniera che mi ſviluppi, e vi ſodisfaccia. Primieramente ſan Lorenzo è ſole, pianeta di fuoco, e il ſole produce ſtelle, tali ſono le monache di queſto illuſtre convento: dico il vero con la Chieſa che oggi canta: Omnia in luce clareſcunt. *Tutto in Lorenzo é Chiaro. Dunque è ſole, è quindi é che produce ſtelle; & ancora che patiſca in fuoco, genera facelle, che ſplendono, e ſono lumi. Di più il ſole é vivo fuoco, e fuochi le ſtelle, ſempre ſtelle, e ſempre lumi. Mà nega il ſito eſſer loro facelle, eſſere ſtelle, perche ſono in Venetia, ſono in acqua, che non confronta col fuoco, anzi incontra il fuoco: ſono pure le Monache ſtille d'acqua, non ſtelle di fuoco. Non havete raggione. Il firmamento centro delle ſtelle ſtà in mezzo dell'*

rence have neither their name nor ſir-name in common with St. Francis, and you require me to compare them: I find myſelf cribb'd in, and involv'd in difficulties. I ſhall therefore endeavour to exert myſelf in ſuch a manner, as to get rid of them, and give you compleat ſatisfaction. In the firſt place, St. Lawrence is a ſun, a fiery planet, and the ſun generates ſtars, ſuch are the nuns of this illuſtrions convent: I ſpeak the truth with the church, which this very day ſings: *omnia in luce clareſcunt.* All things grow bright in the light. In Lawrence all is illuſtrious. Therefore he is a ſun, and hence it is that he generates ſtars; and though he ſuffers in fire, he generates little torches which ſhine and give light. Add to this, that the ſun is living fire and the ſtars are fires, always ſtars and always lights. But, you will ſay, their ſituation proves them to be no torches, to be no ſtars, becauſe they are in Venice, they are in water, which does not agree with fire, but rather oppoſes it: the nuns therefore are drops of water not ſtars of fire. This, gentlemen, is your miſtake. The firmament which is the centre of the ſtars, ſtands

in

dell' acque nel Cielo: Aqua ſuper firmamentum, aquæ ſub firmamento. *Adunque il loco proprio delle ſtelle é trà le aque, e le ſtille ſono ſtelle; e ſvaniſce il voſtro argomento, e diventano le Monache vere figlie di ſan Lorenzo; & ancora proprie di ſtelle, ſono chiare, e ſimili à ſanta Chiara figlia di ſan Franceſco, di cui ſi vantano ſorelle per Chiara, e diventano figlie proprie di Franceſco. Per altre ragioni ancora concordano le Monache con Lorenzo, cioè perche eſſendo Lorenzo nome derivato dall'* alloro, *e Laurentio di* lauro *ſimbolo di palma, e di Vittoria, ſignifica il vantaggio, che ha queſto Monaſterio ſopra tutti gli altri, tra i quali ſi porta il vanto, e la palma come vittorioſo, e principale. E gia che Lorenzo è fuoco, queſto convento è la fenice de' conventi, concorrendo Franceſco che contribuiſce la cenere del ſuo habito per compir la produtione della fenice. Quindi è che le Monache noſtre reſtano proprie di ſan Lorenzo, e di*

in the midſt of the waters of Heaven: *aqua ſuper firmamentum, aquæ ſub firmamento.* Water above the firmament, and waters below the firmament. Therefore the peculiar place of the ſtars is amongſt the waters, and the drops are ſtars; and your argument falls to the ground and the nuns become true daughters of St. Lawrence; and likewiſe the daughters of Francis, becauſe being torches and ſtars, they are bright and reſemble St. Clara, daughter of St. Francis, whoſe ſiſters they boaſt themſelves to be, and become the real daughters of Francis. The nuns agree with Lawrence upon other accounts, that is becauſe Lawrence being a name deriv'd from Laurel, and Laurentius from *laurus*, the ſimbol of the palm and of victory, denote the advantage which this monaſtery has over all others, amongſt which it raiſes its head, and bears the palm as principal. And ſince Lawrence is fire, this convent is the phænix of convents, Francis concurring who contributes the aſhes of his habit to compleat the production of the Phænix. Hence it is that our nuns belong in a peculiar manner

e di ſan Franceſco. Io però non arrdiſco di arogarmi tanto, che chiami le Monache di ſan Lor nzo Monache di ſan Franceſco, perche Franceſco è povero, e nulla, e niente, e Padre de' minori: titoli mino convenevoli à Gentildonne Venetiane tanto Superiori per il ſangue, per le doti di anima, e di corpo, e di fortuna. Reſtino Dunque Monache di ſan Lorenzo, chiamiſi Franceſco, ſan Franceſco delle monache di ſan Lorenzo, come minore, e ſervo di queſto convento. Profeſſandoſi i ſuoi figli frati minori, per ſervirle, per obedirle, e riverirle, per oſſequiarle come padrone, riconoſcendoſi minori per l'umiltà, e per l'obedienza oſſervanti, e giuſtamente minori oſſervanti.

TUTTO A GLORIA DI SAN-LORENZO.

manner to St. Lawrence and St. Francis. I however do not preſume to take ſo much upon myſelf, as to call the nuns of St. Lawrence, nuns of St. Francis, becauſe Francis is poor and nobody, and nothing, and father of the humble and lowly: titles by no means ſuited to Venetian ladies, who are ſo greatly ennobled by their birth, by their qualities of mind and body, and by the gifts of fortune. Let them therefore remain nuns of St. Lawrence, let Francis be call'd St. Francis of the nuns of St. Lawrence, as an inferior brother and ſervant to that convent. His ſons profeſſing themſelves inferior brothers in order to ſerve, obey and reverence thoſe ladies, to behave to them with complaiſance as patroneſſes, acknowledging themſelves inferior brothers through humility, and obſervant through obedience and properly minor obſervants.

ALL TO THE GLORY OF ST. LAWRENCE.

THE

THE author of this ſermon is the ſame father Francis Macedo, a Portugueſe cordelier, well known for the polemical treatiſe which father Noris, who was afterwards cardinal, publiſhed againſt him in 1689, with the title of *Thraſo ſive Miles Macedonicus Plautino ſale perfrictus*. The cauſe of this quarrel was very trivial. Father Macedo had aſſerted that the Albinus to whom St. Auſtin addreſſes his treatiſe *de Gratia Chriſti*, was an *Albinus*, a prieſt's aſſiſtant in the church of Rome: father Noris diſcovered under that name Albina, daughter of the old Melania and mother to the young. Father Macedo was fourſcore years old at the time of this diſpute, and boaſted that he had compoſed 44 volumes, 53 panegyricks, 60 latin harangues, 150 epitaphs, 500 elogiums, 110 odes, 212 dedicatory epiſtles, 2600 epic poems, and 150000 verſes. See a circumſtantial narrative of the life of this voluminous writer in Moreri's dictionary.

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